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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-EIGHTH.

PERU AND CHILE.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-EIGHTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

PERU.

[A country of South America, lying between latitude 3° 30′ and 21° S.; bounded, on the N., by Colombia; on the E., by Brazil; on the S., by Chile and the Provinces of La Plata; on the W., by the Pacific Ocean.]

PERU, a denomination of unknown import,* has considerably varied in its geographical acceptation. The ancient empire of the Incas, at the time of its overthrow, comprehended Quito, which had been annexed by conquest to their original dominions, of which Cuzco was the capital. Under the Spaniards, the viceroyalty of Peru, established at Lima, comprised at one time the whole of their possessions in America south of the Isthmus. When New Granada was constituted, in 1718, a separate viceroyalty, Quito was annexed to it; and that province is now incorporated with the Colombian Republic. In 1778, a further dismemberment of Peru took place, by the separation of the rich districts of La Paz, Potosi, Charcas, and Santa Cruz, which were placed under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Buenos Ayres. These provinces, which are usually

* Some assert, that *Biru* was the name of a cacique of one of the maritime states; others, that the word comes from a river called *Beru*, which was the first crossed by Pizarro; and others, that it was derived from a promontory called *Peiu*.—Alcedo's Dictionary by Thompson.

distinguished by the name of Upper Peru, now constitute the Republic of Bolivia. The remainder of the vice-royalty, which may be called Peru Proper, comprised a territorial surface of 41,400 square marine leagues, with a population, according to Humboldt, of about thirty-four to the square league.* It was divided into the seven intendancies of Lima, Truxillo, Tarma, Huancavelica, Guamanga, Arequipa, and Cuzco; which were again subdivided into forty-nine *partidos* or districts, containing 1360 townships, and about a million of inhabitants.

The boundaries of this territory, on the north, are the provinces of Quito, Maynas, Jaen, and Guayaquil, in Colombia. On the East, the Rio Javary forms its limit from latitude 6° to 9° 30′, in which part it extends 200 leagues in width. Below that parallel, the Peruvian territory expands to 260 leagues, its boundary being a line that runs up, first, the Rio Madera, and then the Mamore, as far as the Rio Maniqui, in latitude 12° 30′; then, following the course of the Maniqui and the Tequiari, it separates the Peruvian districts of Paucartambo and Tinta from that of Apolobamba and the basin of Lake Titicaca, in Upper Peru. Below the parallel of 16°, the maritime chain of the Andes forms its boundary, and the mean breadth of the territory is not more than from fifteen to eighteen leagues. The *partido* of Tarapaca, in Arequipa, which reaches the desert of Atacama, at the mouth of the Rio de Loa, in latitude 21° 26′, formed the line of demarcation between the vice-royalties of Peru and Buenos Ayres. "If a line be drawn," says M. Humboldt, "from the southern

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. pp. 167, 339. In his third volume (p. 422), the learned Author had estimated it at only 30,000 square leagues.

extremity of the province of Maynas, on the banks of the Guallaga, to the confluence of the Apurimac and the Beni, (which form the Rio Ucayale,) and thence to the westward of the Rio Vilcobamba and the table-land of Paucartambo, towards the point where the south-eastern frontier cuts the Rio Ynambari, it will divide Peru into two unequal parts: the one, comprising 26,220 square leagues, is the centre of the civilized population; the other, of 15,200 square leagues, is wild and almost uninhabited." *

The provinces of Upper Peru, extending from Tequiari and Mamore, as far as Pilcomayo, between the parallels of 13° and 24° S., are estimated to contain 37,020 square marine leagues. The southern limit is only an imaginary line running across uninhabited savannahs, and cutting the Cordillera of the Andes at the tropic of Capricorn; it thence crosses the Rio Grande, the Pilcomayo, and finally, the Paraguay, in latitude 20° 50′. If the basin of Lake Titicaca and the mountainous part of Upper Peru, where the Quichua language prevails, were to be re-united to Cuzco, the plains of Chiquitos and Chaco might, Humboldt remarks, naturally form part of the government of Buenos Ayres.†

The ancient Indians called this country *Tavantinsuyu*, the Four Parts (or Provinces), which were respectively distinguished by their direction.‡ The natural divisions of the country appear, however, to be but three in number, and are formed by the two cordilleras or chains of mountains, nearly parallel to

* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 169. † Ibid. p. 175.

‡ Alcedo. This division must have been made in the latter days of the empire. Cuzco, the capital, was in *Colla-suyu*, the eastern province; the northern was called *Anti-suyu*; the western, *Chinchay-suyu*; and the southern, *Conti-suyu*.

each other, which traverse Peru from south to north. Between the western chain, called the Cordillera of the Coast, and the sea, is Lower Peru, consisting of an inclined plane from ten to twenty leagues in breadth, to which the Spaniards have given the name of *Valles*. It is chiefly composed of sandy deserts, destitute alike of vegetation and inhabitants. This is the character, indeed, of the greater part of the western coast, which presents, both in Peru and Chile, little more than a waste of rocks, sand, and saltpetre, the rains never reaching these parts. The explanation of this phenomenon appears to be, that the prevailing easterly winds, supposed to be a continuation of the S. E. trade-winds, blowing across the continent, bring the clouds to the higher ranges of the Andes, by which they are broken, and the rain falls before reaching the coast.* The only exceptions to this sterility are a few valleys, through which small streams run into the Pacific, affording the means of irrigation, or such spots as are moistened by subterranean springs. The climate of Lower Peru is remarkable for its equable mildness. In Lima, the thermometer has never been seen below 60° at noon, and seldom above 86°. The coolness that pervades the coast of this tropical region, M. Malte Brun remarks, cannot be attributable to its snow-capped mountains, but is rather the effect of a thick mist (called by the natives *garua*), which covers the disk of the sun, and is partly owing to a cold current that flows northward from the Straits of Magellan to Cape Parinna.†

* Maw, p. 419. The long drought to which the Coromandel coast is subject, is owing to a similar cause.—See India, vol. i. p. 40.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 415. The difference between the ordinary temperature of the ocean in these latitudes, and that of the currents, is, according to Humboldt, at least 9°. "It certainly never rains at Lima," says Lieutenant Brand, "but the heavy dews

The country betweeen the two chains of the Andes, called the Sierra, consists of mountains and naked rocks, intersected by some fertile and well cultivated valleys. This region contains the finest silver mines in the world, and the richest veins are ordinarily found in the most sterile rocks. Though now comparatively uncultivated and thinly peopled, this upper country exhibits numerous traces of having once supported a considerable population; and what is reported respecting the longevity of the inhabitants, would lead us to suppose that the climate is particularly salubrious.

On the eastern declivity of the central chain begins the region of woods, called the *Montana*, the commencement of an immense plain, rich in vegetable productions, extending eastward to the banks of the Ucayale and the Maranham. This plain is broken, however, by several ridges, which divide the waters, and is inhabited by various distinct nations and tribes, of whom little is known. This region has been denominated Interior Peru. The climate is extremely humid, and it abounds with lakes and marshes, swarming with noxious reptiles and innumerable insects. The tribes scattered over this vast wilderness are peculiarly savage and degraded, many of them being anthropophagous.* For whatever is really known of their manners and customs, we are indebted almost

which fall night and morning, may be compared to what we call Scotch mists."—Brand, p. 188. From June to November, the dampness of the air is excessive.

* The Capanahuas or Busquipanes, "from a sort of piety, eat their deceased parents, smoking and roasting them in the same manner as they do the wild animals they catch in the woods." The Sencis "burn the dead, and drink the ashes in chicha." The Cashibos "are known to eat human flesh."—Maw's Travels, App. pp. 468—71. The Cabres and Guipunavies of the Orinoco, and other savages of Guiana, are in like manner undoubted cannibals.—See Humboldt's P. N. vol. v. p. 451, &c.

exclusively to the Spanish Missions established in those back countries. The principal rivers of these Missions are the Beni (or Parabeni) and the Tambo (or Paucartambo), which, by their junction, form the Ucayale, one of the largest tributaries to the mighty Amazons. The Parabeni (which signifies, in the Piros language, pure river) rises not far from Cuzco, and entering the *Montana* by the valley of Santa Ana, flows northward to join the Tambo, in latitude 10° 31′ S., longitude 74° 16′ E. The latter river is formed by three head streams; the Apurimac, the Pangoa (united with the Marameric), and the Chanchamayo; which last, rising near Tarma, runs N.N.E. as far as 11° 20′ S., then inclines eastward to the *Cerro de Sal*, and thence invariably follows an easterly course to its confluence with the Pangoa, in latitude 10° 45′.* The Ucayale, (or Aucayale, which means, in the Omagua dialect, river of enemies,) after being joined by several other streams, discharges itself into the Maranham (or Amazons) in latitude 4° 14′ S., longitude 72° 21′ E.†

The river Beni (or Para-beni) is supposed to have been the limit of the Peruvian emigrations. In the New Continent, the progress of early civilization has evidently been from west to east, and from north to

* According to Alcedo's Dictionary, (which abounds, however, with contradictions,) the Ucayale is said to have its origin in the great lake of Chinchaycocha near Tarma. This lake is elsewhere stated to give rise to the river Pari or Paria, also called Xauxa (Jauja), which divides the province of that name, and receives the Apurimac in about latitude 12° S. Again, the Chanchamaiu is described as a river of Caxamarquilla, which rises in the province of Tarma, and enters the large river Perene (Para-beni?) in the country of the Campas Indians. It is obvious that these varied names must denote the same stream, and that the lake of Chinchaycocha may be regarded as one of the chief sources of the Ucayale, and, therefore, of the Amazons itself.

† Maw's Travels, App. pp. 472, 3.

south,—a clear indication of the Asiatic origin of the institutions, arts, and religion of the Indian nations. Amidst the extensive plains of Upper Canada, in Florida, and in the deserts bordered by the Orinoco, the Cassiquiare, and the Guainia, dikes of considerable length occur, and weapons of brass and sculptured stones have been found, indicating that those countries, now traversed only by tribes of savage hunters, were once inhabited by an industrious people.* But when, in their migrations, hordes of hunters reached the plains of the equinoctial zone, they were compelled by the impenetrable forests and a luxuriant vegetation, to change their habits; and the character of man has seemed, in these sultry regions, to assume the rank and noxious wildness of the productions of the soil. The force of vegetation, the heat of the climate, and the "too lavish gifts of nature," have opposed obstacles to the progress of civilization, more formidable than either the Andes or the desert. Here, where no other space is found clear of wood, than that occupied by the lakes and the rivers,—where neighbouring tribes are more effectually secluded and separated from each other by the vegetable barrier, or by the labyrinth of waters, than elsewhere by interposing mountains or extended territories,—where man's physical wants are few and cheaply supplied, and commerce is alike im-

* "Some granitic rocks which rise on the savannahs of Guiana, between the Cassiquiare and the Conorichite, are covered with figures of tigers, crocodiles, and other characters which may be regarded as symbolical. Similar figures are found 400 leagues to the N. and W., on the banks of the Orinoco, near Encaramada and Caicara; on the borders of the river Cauca, near Timba, between Cali and Jelima; and even in the *paramo* of Guanacas. The natives of these regions are unacquainted with the use of metallic tools; and all concur in asserting, that these characters existed when their ancestors arrived in those countries."—Humboldt's Res., vol. i. p. 177; Pers. Nar. vol. v. pp. 592—600.

practicable and superfluous,—the mind of man stagnates for want of objects of hope or incentives to action, and the traces of civilization soon become effaced. In ascending towards the east, either by the Meta or by the Maranham, M. Humboldt remarks, the civilization of the natives is found to increase. In descending from Loxa, towards the Amazons, in the province of Jaen, some ruins of great edifices are found, which indicate that the Incas had carried so far eastward of the Cordilleras, their arms, religion, and arts. But, from the extreme difficulty of penetrating into the plains of the *Montana*, covered as they are with primeval forests, the fugitive Children of the Sun, when fleeing before their conquerors, never, in the opinion of the learned Traveller, passed beyond the banks of the Parabeni.* The inhabitants of Interior Peru appear to be, in fact, of a different origin from the other Peruvians, and were never brought under the yoke of the Incas.

Before we pursue any further our description of the country and its inhabitants, the reader will expect, conformably to our plan, an historical outline of the political revolutions which it has undergone since the Spaniard first drew his sword upon the Children of the Sun.

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. v. pp. 85, 6. Lieutenant Maw, however, met with some individuals of the Yagua tribe, at Pebas, on the Amazons, who will be described hereafter, and whom he supposes to be descended from the royal race of Cuzco.—Maw, p. 200.

HISTORY OF PERU.

"WHEN the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. By his victorious arms, the kingdom of Quito was subjected; a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire." These sentences comprise the substance of the information conveyed in the well-turned periods of Dr. Robertson, respecting the previous history of the country. The native annals ascend no higher than the era of the first Inca, the lord of a small territory comprising the city of Cuzco; and the Peruvian empire which he founded, could boast no more remote date than the twelfth century. There are traces, however, of an earlier civilization. According to M. Humboldt, the architectural monuments found in the elevated table-land of Tiahuanaco, served as models for the edifices which the Incas erected at Cuzco.* Over the origin of those more ancient works, there hangs an impenetrable obscurity. At the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives attributed the construction of them to "a race of white and bearded men," who inhabited the ridge of the Cordilleras long before the foundation of the empire of the Incas. To whatever race they belonged, there seems little room to doubt

* "It is probable," says Humboldt, "that the edifices which I have heard called in Peru, Quito, and as far as the banks of the Amazons, by the name of *Inga Pilca* (buildings of the Inca), do not date further back than the thirteenth century. Those of Vinaque and Tiahuanaco were constructed at a remoter period; as were the walls of unbaked brick, which owe their origin to the ancient inhabitants of Quito, the *Puruays*, governed by the Conchocando (sovereign) of Lican, and by *guastays*, tributary princes."—Humboldt's Researches, vol. ii. p. 8.

that they had arrived in Peru by following the ridges of the Cordilleras, and that the civilization of the southern America, as well as that of Mexico, emanated from the north.

" The annals of the Mexican empire," M. Humboldt remarks, " appear to go as far back as the sixth century of our era, since, at that period, we find the epochs of the migrations, the causes which produced them, and the names of the chiefs descended from the illustrious house of Citin, who led from the unknown regions of Aztlan and Teocolhuacan, the northern nations into the plains of Anahuac (Mexico)." But, " it is only from the twelfth century, that the annals of the Aztecs, like those of the Chinese and the people of Thibet, give an uninterrupted account of secular festivals, the genealogies of their kings, the tributes imposed on the conquered, the foundation of cities, and celestial phenomena. Though no traditions point out any direct connexion between the nations of North and South America, their history is not the less fraught with analogies in the political and religious revolutions from which dates the civilization of the Aztecs, the Muyscas, and the Peruvians. Men with beards and of fairer complexions than the natives of Anahuac, Cundinamarca, and the elevated plain of Cuzco, make their appearance without any indication of the place of their birth, bearing the titles of high-priests, legislators, the friends of peace and the arts, and operate a sudden change in the policy of the nations, who hail their arrival with veneration. Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco Capac, are the sacred names of these mysterious beings.* Quetzal-

* In like manner, the Indians of Brazil have their Paye Tzome, who taught them the use of the mandioc ; and the Tamanacs hold in the same veneration their great father, Amalivaca.

coatl, clothed in a black sacerdotal robe, comes from Panuco, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Bochica, the Boodh of the Muyscas, presents himself on the high plains of Bogota, where he arrives from the savannahs which stretch along the east of the Cordilleras. The history of these legislators is intermixed with miracles, religious fictions, and those characters which imply an allegorical meaning. Some learned men have pretended to discover, that these strangers were shipwrecked Europeans, or the descendants of those Scandinavians who, in the eleventh century, visited Greenland, Newfoundland, and perhaps Nova Scotia.* But a slight reflection on the period of the Toltec migrations, on the monastic institutions, the symbols of worship, the calendar, and the form of the monuments of Cholula, of Sogamozo, and of Cuzco, will lead us to the conclusion, that it was not in the north of Europe that Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco Capac framed their code of laws. Every consideration leads us rather towards Eastern Asia,—to those nations who have been in contact with the inhabitants of Thibet; to the Shamanist Tatars, and the bearded Ainos of the isles of Jesso and Saghalien."

"A long struggle between two religious sects, the Brahmins and the Boodhists, terminated in the emigration of the Shamans to Thibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan. If tribes of the Tatar race have passed over to the north-west coast of America, and thence to the S. and E., towards the banks of the Gila and the Missouri, as etymological researches seem to indicate; we should be less surprised at finding, among the semi-barbarous nations of the New Continent, idols and architectural monuments, a hiero-

* This would be an anachronism of at least three or four centuries.—See Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. p. 198.

glyphic writing, an exact knowledge of the duration of the year, and traditions respecting the first state of the world; recalling to our minds the sciences, arts, and religious opinions of the Asiatic nations.....It cannot be denied, that the Mexican Indians belong to a race of men who, like several Tatar and Mongol hordes, are extremely fond of imitating the form of objects. Every where in New Spain, as well as in Quito and Peru, we find Indians who know how to paint and carve. They succeed in servilely copying whatever they behold; and have learned, since the arrival of the Europeans, to give correctness to their outlines. But nothing indicates their being susceptible of that feeling of the beautiful, without which painting and sculpture cannot rise above the rank of mechanical arts. In this and in many other respects, the inhabitants of the New World resemble all the tribes of Eastern Asia.....The Kamtshatdales, the Tongoosians, and other tribes of Siberia, described by Strahlenberg, paint figures which represent historical facts.....If we do not find in the Old Continent any nation that has made so extensive a use of painting as the Mexicans, it is because we discover neither in Europe nor in Asia, a civilization so far advanced without the knowledge of an alphabet, or of certain characters that serve as a substitute, such as those of the Chinese and the Coreans. Before the introduction of hieroglyphical painting, the nations of Anahuac made use of those knots and threads of various colours which the Peruvians call *quippos*, and which have been found not only among the Canadians, but, in very remote times, among the Chinese. Boturini was fortunate enough to procure specimens of real Mexican *quippos* (or *nepohualtzitzin*) found in the country of the Tlascaltecs.

"In the great migrations of the nations, those of America transported themselves from north to south, as the Iberians, the Celts, and the Pelasgi flowed from east to west. Perhaps, the ancient inhabitants of Peru had already passed over the elevated plain of Mexico. In fact, Ulloa, who was well acquainted with the style of Peruvian architecture, was struck with the great resemblance that certain old edifices in Western Louisiana bore, in the distribution of the doors and niches, to the *tamboes* built by the Incas; and it is not less singular, according to the traditions collected at Lican, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Quito, that the *quippos* were known to the Puruays long before they were subdued by the descendants of Manco Capac. The use of hieroglyphics superseded in Mexico, as well as in China, that of the knots or the *nepohualtzitzin*. This change was effected about A.D. 648, when a northern, but very polished race, the Toltecs, appeared in the mountains of Anahuac, on the east of the Gulf of California, declaring themselves to have been expelled from a country lying to the N.W. of the Rio Gila, called Huehuetlapallan. They brought with them paintings indicating year by year the events of their migration, and they professed to have quitted their country, the situation of which is entirely unknown to us, in the year 544; the very period at which the total ruin of the Tsin dynasty had occasioned great commotions among the nations of Eastern Asia." *

As the Peruvians do not appear to have ever

* Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. pp. 28—30; 146, 7; 165—170. The learned Traveller supposes, that the Toltecs may have been a branch of the Hiong-nues, who, according to the Chinese historians, emigrated under their leader Puron, and were lost in the northern part of Siberia.—See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. i. p. 189.

abandoned their *quippos* for the hieroglyphic writing of the Toltecs, it has been inferred, that the latter tribes never penetrated so far south,* and that the old Peruvians sprang from an earlier colony who retired before that more civilized and warlike people. However this may have been, the Mexicans and the Peruvians exhibit a very marked difference in their characteristic features and institutions.

The government of the Incas of Peru was a species of theocracy: the sovereign united in his own person the temporal and the spiritual supremacy, and the Children of the Sun were both priests and kings. But, though the most absolute despotism in its form, it was far more mild in its character, and less oppressive in fact, than that of the Mexican sovereigns. The blind and passive submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns, precluded a recurrence to force; and, while every crime was punishable with death, the number of offenders was extremely small. The religious system too, upon which the Incas grafted their claims to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that terrible and atrocious superstition which obtained the ascendancy among the Mexicans. The dire and cruel worship of the "Terrible God," the Moloch of the Aztecs, has been compared to that of the Hindoo Seeva; and in their "Goddess of Hell," we have the counterpart to his wife, the black goddess Kali, to whom the Vedas enjoin the offering of human sacrifices. The bloodless rites of the Peruvian worship, on the other hand,

* Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. p. 173. The Peruvian calendar differs also from the Toltec. The learned Traveller remarks, however, in a note, that the Peruvians were not unacquainted with symbolic paintings, according to the testimony of P. Garcia and Acosta, although knots were in general use.

present an analogy to the worship of Krishna, the Apollo of the Hindoo pantheon. It is not a little remarkable, too, that as, in India, a contest between the two great sects of Vishnoo and Seeva has terminated in the ascendancy of the darker superstition, so, in Mexico, the worshippers of the Sun appear to have yielded to the votaries of the Destroyer. "That worship," says M. Humboldt, "in which no other offerings were made to the divinity, than flowers, incense, and the first fruits of harvest, undoubtedly existed at Mexico down to the beginning of the fourteenth century. When the Spaniards arrived at Tenochtitlan, the sanguinary worship which reminds us of the rites of Kali, of Moloch, and of the Esus of the Gauls, had existed only two hundred years." *

The national character of the Peruvians, conformably to the genius of their religion, was more gentle and pacific than that of any other people in America: even their wars are said to have been carried on with singular humanity. The Mexicans, on the contrary, were distinguished by their barbarous ferocity. They fought to exterminate, or to glut their blood-thirsty divinities with human sacrifices. They were the Ashantees of the New World. Yet while, in Mexico, there were traces of a milder superstition, in the institutions of Peru there were remains of the most savage barbarism. The funeral rites of their monarchs ill accorded with a religion the altars of which were unstained with blood; and one is tempted to suppose that they must have been introduced by imperial

* Humboldt, vol. i. pp. 213, 214. See also, *ib.*, pp. 216—221. Quetzalcoatl, like Boodh, is said to have preached against the execrable practice of human sacrifices, which originated with the savage Aztecs, the worshippers of Mexitli, the god of war. The principal deity of the Toltecs was the god of water and tempests.

vanity in imitation of the barbarous customs of a more ferocious race. "On the death of the Incas and of other eminent persons, a considerable number of their attendants were put to death, and interred round their *guacas* (tumuli), that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be served with the same respect. On the death of Huana Capac, the most powerful of their monarchs, above a thousand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb." * That in Mexico the same Scythian practice should have prevailed, is not surprising; yet, it is not a little remarkable, to find the barbarous rites described by Homer and Herodotus, transplanted, on the one hand, to the heart of the Andes, and on the other hand, still practised with atrocious pomp by the sable nations of Guinea. In another particular, the manners of the mild and gentle Peruvians were singularly barbarous. Though not unacquainted with the use of fire in preparing maize and vegetables for food, they astonished the Spaniards by devouring both flesh and fish perfectly raw.†

In fact, prior to the appearance of Manco Capac and his spouse, Mama Ocollo, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, the inhabitants of Peru ranked among the most uncivilized savages of America. Strangers to agriculture and all the useful arts, without any fixed residence, they are said to have roamed the forests with which the country was then covered, more like wild beasts than men. If so, their improvement under their Incas must have been surprisingly rapid, and would indicate an extraordinary degree of docility, although it soon reached the highest

* Robertson's America, b. vii. † *Ib.*

point of which the state of knowledge and the political circumstances of the country would admit. In Peru, agriculture was carried on with greater skill than in any part of America. By artificial canals, the torrents were made to supply the means of irrigating the low country, which is never refreshed with rain, and the soil was manured with the dung of sea-fowls. A mattock of hard wood supplied the place of a plough, and both sexes were engaged in the toils of husbandry. The Children of the Sun set an example of industry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands.* In the construction, as well as navigation of their floats, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far superior to that of any other people in America. They had advanced so far in nautical skill as to raise a mast and spread a sail, by means of which their *balzas* not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity. But it was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The ruins of these sacred or royal buildings, found in every province, are evidently the monuments of a nation which must have subsisted, during a period of some duration, in a state of considerable improvement; and they convey to us a high idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs. The noblest works of the Incas were, however, the two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, a distance of fifteen hundred miles; the one conducted through the mountainous country, the other along the

* "They dignified this function," says Robertson, "by denominating it their triumph over the earth." Similar honours are conferred upon agriculture in the "celestial empire."—See Mod. Trav., Persia, &c., vol. ii. p. 291.

maritime plains. At proper intervals, *tamboes* or storehouses were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in his progress through his dominions; and bridges of ropes were stretched across the torrents which intersected the road, in their course from the Andes to the western ocean. At the time that the Spaniards entered Peru, no kingdom in Europe, Robertson remarks, could boast of any work of public utility that could be compared to the great roads of the Incas.* Yet, in these works, the sagacious policy of the monarch is more conspicuous, than the advanced civilization of his subjects.

In their mode of obtaining and smelting the precious ores, the Peruvians had advanced beyond the other American nations; and the quantity of silver drawn from their mines was so considerable, that many of the utensils employed in the functions of common life were made of it. Several of their vessels and trinkets are said to have exhibited considerable neatness in the workmanship. Among other specimens of their ingenuity, there have been dug out of the *guacas*, or sepulchral barrows erected over the remains of their chiefs, mirrors, formed of a hard, shining stone, highly polished; vessels of earthenware, of different forms; and hatchets and other tools or weapons, some of flint, and others of copper mixed with tin, and thereby hardened to such a degree as to supply the place of iron. To a circumscribed use of this metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their superiority to the other nations in various arts;

* During the long reign of barbarism, the roads which it had been a capital object of Roman policy to open, had been neglected and partially destroyed. Mohammedan civilization was, in this respect, in advance of Christendom. Under the Patan sovereigns of Hindostan, the roads were an object of munificent attention.

although in none of them, their attainments were beyond those of a people in the rudest stage of incipient civilization.

Throughout the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Everywhere else, the people lived in detached habitations or small villages. Little or no intercourse was carried on between different provinces; for there were no stated markets, as in Mexico, and no inland trade. Although there was a marked distinction of ranks, a great body of the inhabitants being in the condition of helots or serfs, there was no separation of crafts. All the arts were practised by every Peruvian indiscriminately. All these circumstances indicate a rude state of society, and a population the opposite of redundant. In a country of so immense extent, with only one city, the progress of manners, and the improvement of either the necessary or the more refined arts, Dr. Robertson remarks, "must have been so slow, and carried on under such disadvantages, that it is more surprising the Peruvians should have advanced so far in refinement, than that they did not proceed further." When, in addition to the political debility which necessarily attached to a social structure thus slenderly constituted, we take into consideration the physical feebleness of the Indian race, and the peculiar tameness and timidity of the Peruvian character, to whatsoever cause attributable,—we shall not be surprised that the conquest of the country was effected by a few desperate and ruthless adventurers, almost without a struggle.

The conquest of Mexico was an achievement so boldly conceived, so romantically executed, that our indignation at the injustice and perfidy which it involved, is almost merged in admiration of the valour

and genius which, with means so inadequate, triumphed over all the difficulties created by unforeseen circumstances and a resistance obstinate and heroic. But while to subdue the Mexicans demanded the abilities of a Cortes, the subjugation of the Peruvians required only the unblushing perfidy and rude daring of a Pizarro. Little interest attaches to the historical detail of this splendid, yet inglorious conquest, which proved fatal alike to the victors and the victims. To the reader desirous of tracing its progress, the pages of Robertson will supply the requisite information. We can only advert to the leading events.

The first information respecting the countries bordering upon the Pacific, was obtained by Balboa, the Spanish governor of Darien, in 1512. A young cacique, on witnessing with astonishment the furious contention of the Spaniards about the division of some gold, offered to conduct them to a region where the meanest utensils were made of the precious metal. In reply to their eager inquiries respecting its situation, he informed them, that, at the distance of six suns towards the south, there was another sea, on the shores of which that wealthy kingdom was situated. This was the first information the Spaniards had received concerning the great southern ocean, from which they were separated only by an isthmus about sixty miles in breadth. It occupied them more than five-and-twenty days, however, to force their way through the woods and lofty mountains which barred their progress; but, at length, the welcome sight of the vast ocean from the summit of a mountain near Panama, repaid the adventurers for their toils and sufferings. "They held on to the shore with alacrity; and Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves, with his sword and buckler, took possession of that

ocean in the name of the king, his master." The part which he discovered, still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave to it.

Balboa's first care was to send information to Spain of the important discovery he had made; for which the only return he met with from an ungrateful court, was to be superseded in his government, and fined for alleged irregularities. Though afterwards restored to a nominal authority, he eventually fell a victim to the jealousy of the unprincipled ruffian who had been sent out as governor, by whom he was basely put to death as a criminal upon the charge of an intention to revolt.

It was reserved for Francis Pizarro, a soldier of fortune in Balboa's service, to follow up the schemes, and realize the hopes of his unfortunate leader. His associates in the bold enterprise were, Diego de Almagro, a man of as base origin as himself, and Hernando de Luque, a priest and schoolmaster at Panama. On November 14, 1524, Pizarro set sail from that port, in a single vessel of small burden, with only 112 men, in search of the golden regions to which he undertook to conduct his followers. The season was the most improper he could have chosen, the periodical winds which had set in, being directly adverse to his course. After a long series of disasters and disappointments, under which he persisted in his enterprise with singular patience and fortitude, and in defiance of a recall from the governor of Panama,—he succeeded, in 1526, in reaching the coast of Peru. After touching at several villages, he landed at Tumbez, a place of some note, about 3° S. of the line, distinguished for its stately temple and a palace of the Incas. There, the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the

Peruvian empire; but, with the slender force under his command, it was impossible to attempt any hostile descent; and towards the close of the third year from his departure, Pizarro regained the port of Panama. He now resolved to repair to Spain, to solicit full powers to turn his discovery to advantage; and he was invested by the court with supreme authority, civil and military, over the country to be conquered, his jurisdiction being declared prospectively to extend 200 leagues to the southward of the river of St. Jago. Armed with this gratuitous commission, the means of executing which he was left to provide entirely from his own slender resources, he returned to his confederates. Three small vessels carrying 180 soldiers, (36 of whom were horsemen,) composed the armament which their utmost efforts were able to fit out; but the astonishing progress of the Spaniards in Mexico had inspired them with such confidence of success, that Pizarro did not hesitate to sail with this contemptible force to invade a great empire of whose resources he was utterly ignorant. His first descent was on the shores of St. Matthew's Bay, whence he pursued his march along the coast to the southward. He met with little or no resistance, but was exposed with his followers to severe calamities inflicted by the climate and an unfertile country. The sudden appearance of invaders whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression upon the natives as in other parts of America. On reaching the Bay of Guayaquil, however, he found the island of Puna peopled by a fiercer race, who defended themselves with such obstinate valour, that Pizarro spent six months in reducing them to subjection. Having received some small re-inforcements from Panama and Nicaragua, he

was at length enabled to prosecute his march; and proceeding to the river Piura, he founded near its mouth, in May 1532, the first Spanish colony in Peru, which he dedicated to St. Michael.

It was not known till afterwards, to what fortunate circumstance it was owing, that a handful of foreigners had been permitted to advance thus far towards the heart of a great empire without serious molestation. A contest for the succession to the throne of the Incas had involved the country in the calamities of a civil war; and, strange to say, messengers from both the contending parties solicited the fatal aid of their common enemy. At the head of an ill-accoutred train of 62 mounted followers and 102 foot-soldiers, of whom 22 were armed with cross-bows and 3 with muskets, Pizarro advanced, in the guise of an ambassador, and was allowed to establish himself at Caxamarca, a town 12 days' march in the interior. His pacific declarations were received with inconsiderate credulity; and the Inca became the easy victim of the Spaniard's perfidy. The seizure of the unhappy monarch, the massacre of his unresisting troops, the plunder of the country, the murder of the royal captive, and the complete dissolution of the Peruvian empire, were events which followed almost of course. In these proceedings, Pizarro was but the imitator of Cortes, whose daring spirit he emulated, without possessing either the temper or the address which enabled the Conqueror of Mexico to win the confidence of his prisoner, and to veil his designs under a specious policy.

It was not long before the invaders were involved in contests respecting the division of the spoil; and a civil war between Almagro's partisans and the Pizarro faction, was prevented by an accommodation

on the singular basis, that Almagro should indemnify himself by attempting the conquest of Chile, for resigning his claims on Peru. In the year 1535, when a handful of soldiers alone remained in Cuzco under Juan and Gonsalez Pizarro, the rest of the Spanish troops being dispersed in different expeditions, a general insurrection of the Peruvians took place, headed by Manco Capac, the heir to the throne of the Incas, which, at one time, threatened the Spaniards with the total overthrow of their power. Cuzco was already half in possession of the Peruvians, when Almagro hastened back from Chile to the aid of his countrymen; and the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter. It now came to the issue of arms, which of the two, Almagro or Pizarro, should remain master of Peru. The former, too generous to improve his advantages by shedding the blood of his opponents when they were in his power, was defeated and taken prisoner by the Pizarros, and put to death as a traitor, in his seventy-fifth year. His death was avenged, about three years after, by his son, who headed a conspiracy against Francis Pizarro, provoked by his injustice and rapacity, and the murderer of Atahualpa and Almagro perished under the swords of the assassins. The career of young Almagro was short. A new viceroy arrived from Spain, to whom he refused to relinquish his pretensions; and the struggle which ensued, proved fatal to himself and all his followers. Another insurrection, headed by Gonsalez Pizarro, was not terminated till after a protracted contest, in which one viceroy was slain, and numbers fell on both sides. At length, the royalists prevailed, and the last of the Pizarros, deserted by his followers, was taken and beheaded. During these disgraceful and ferocious contentions, in which the

rancour of enmity was heightened by avarice, the ties of honour were entirely disregarded. There was hardly a Spaniard in Peru, who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, and betray or desert his former associates. Several successive insurrections and transient revolutions desolated the country for some years; and most of the first invaders who survived, as well as a large proportion of the licentious adventurers whom the fame of their success had allured thither, fell by one another's hands. Each party, as it alternately prevailed, by executing or proscribing its opponents, contributed to clear the country of the turbulent and desperate spirits who had been set loose upon this devoted land; and the royal authority was at length established as firmly in Peru as in the other Spanish colonies.

While these disorders were working out their own remedy in Peru, the dominion of Spain was extending itself over the regions north and south of the Isthmus which connects the two Americas. Alvarado, the lieutenant of Cortes, effected the conquest of Guatimala in 1524.* The provinces of Cartagena and Santa Marta, to the eastward of Darien, were subjugated by Pedro de Heredia about the year 1532; and the entire conquest of the countries comprised in the viceroyalty of New Granada, was effected about the year 1536, by Sebastian de Benalcazar, the governor of Quito, and Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, who simultaneously invaded it from the north and the south.† The whole of the Spanish dominions in the New World were at first divided into two immense governments, one subject to the viceroy of New Spain

* See MOD. TRAV., Mexico, &c., vol. ii. pp. 182—190.
† *Ib.* Colombia, p. 2.

or Mexico, the other to the viceroy of Peru. It was not till the eighteenth century, that Santa Fé de Bogota was made the seat of a third viceroyalty, the jurisdiction of which extended over the kingdoms of Terra Firma, New Granada, and Quito. In 1778, the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, Paraguay, Tucuman, Charcas, and Chiquitos, were detached from the jurisdiction of the Peruvian viceroy, and formed into a separate government, of which Buenos Ayres was made the capital. To these four governments alone was attached the dignity of a viceroyalty. Guatimala, the provinces of Venezuela, Caracas, and Cumana, and Chile, were severally formed into distinct jurisdictions under a captain-general.

A view of the colonial system of administration under which the Spanish territories in the New World groaned for nearly three centuries, has been given in another part of our work ;* but there were two features of the tyranny exercised over the aborigines of Peru, which require to be distinctly adverted to. These were, the *mita* and the *repartimiento*. The former was a civil conscription, by which the population of every district was made to furnish annually a certain number of working hands for the service of the proprietors of the lands or mines. A great body of the natives had, under the Incas, been held in a state of degrading servitude; and, like the *tamemes* of Mexico, the *yanaconas* of Peru were employed in carrying burdens and in all sorts of drudgery. There was nothing, therefore, in the law itself, which could be felt as a peculiar hardship, when imposed by their conquerors. But the effects of the regulation on the *mitayos* compelled to labour

* Mexico, &c., vol. i. pp. 84—99.

in the mines, were most fatal.* Under the most favourable circumstances, we are told, scarcely one Indian out of five survived the first year of his unwholesome and exhausting labours; and if he did, some pretence was found for detaining him as a debtor to his employer. More than 12,000 Indians were annually subject to the *mita* conscription in Potosi alone; and it is computed that upwards of eight millions perished in the mines of Peru.† There is, probably, some exaggeration in this estimate; nor is it easy to account for so extraordinary a mortality, without taking into calculation the effects of removal to a different climate and a sudden change of habits.

* "Every Indian, from the age of eighteen to fifty, was forced to labour in the mines. For this purpose, lists were made out and arranged in seven divisions; the individuals whose names were marked in them, had to serve for the space of six months, so that every man must have been once pressed into that service after the lapse of three years and a half. The Indian, on these occasions, quitted his family, relinquished his trade, and had to repair to a mine perhaps many hundred miles distant from his cottage. Some, it is true, took their families along with them, and were even entitled to a small sum for the expense of their journey. The price of labour was fixed at half a dollar a day."—Mercurio Peruviano, cited by Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 437.

† Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 5. In a memorial presented to Philip III. in 1609, Captain Juan Gonsalez de Azevedo asserts, that in every district of Peru in which the Indians were compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers had been reduced to the half, and in some places to the third, of what was the amount of the population in 1581. Another Spanish authority is cited by Robertson in attestation of the fact, that, wherever mines are wrought, the Indians decrease; whereas, in the province of Campeachy, in which there are no mines, the number of the Indians has increased more than a third since the conquest, although neither the soil nor the climate is so favourable as in Peru or Mexico.—Robertson's America, *note* 81. See also, respecting the causes of depopulation, *ib.*, *note* 68. The expeditions of the Spaniards proved fatal to vast numbers of the Indians engaged in those services; and many perished in the civil wars.

Besides those subject to the *mita*, Ulloa states, that many mestizoes and Indians voluntarily hire themselves as miners; but this may be ascribed to the general poverty and distress of the inhabitants. It is certain, that the Indians have decreased in numbers to a frightful extent since the conquest. By the first census, of 1551, the Indians in Peru and New Granada were estimated at 8,255,000, of whom about half may, perhaps, be assigned to Peru. According to another census, made in 1581, before the *mita* was legally established, the number of males between eighteen and fifty, in Peru, exclusive of Quito, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, amounted to 1,067,692; the total Peruvian population, therefore, must have exceeded four millions. But, towards the close of the last century, it appears that, in the viceroyalty of Lima, there were not more than 1,100,000 natives; * and if we add 1,500,000 for the provinces annexed to the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, and 700,000 for Quito, this will make a total population of only 3,300,000 souls, of whom the Indians may be supposed to have formed rather more than two-thirds, or about two millions and a half, and the mestizoes, or half castes, less than a third.† This decrease in the native popu-

* The total population of Peru in 1796, according to the Viagero Universal, amounted to 1,445,000 souls.

† In the *Guia Politica del Perù*, 1793, the total population of the vice-royalty is estimated at a million, of which 600,000 were Indians, 240,000 mestizoes, and 40,000 slaves. In Upper Peru, or the *provincias de la Sierra*, belonging to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, the official returns of 1817 gave a population of 1,716,000 souls, of whom about two-thirds (1,130,000) were Indians.—See Humboldt, Per. Nar., vol. vi. pp. 138, 364. By M. Schmidtmeyer, the population of these provinces is stated at only 1,300,000, of whom 700,000 are Indians.—Travels, p. 103. We have taken the mean estimate of Malte Brun (vol. v. p. 438). The latter Geographer

lation cannot, however, be compared with the exterminating effects of the slave-hunting system pursued by the Brazilian *mamelucoes* and other desperate adventurers* in South America, or even with the waste of life produced by the West India slavery, or with the savage *commandoes* of the Dutch in South Africa. Other causes, too, besides the hardships of the conscription, tended to diminish the Peruvian population. Ulloa states, that the immoderate use of spirituous liquors has been known to make more havoc among the people in a twelvemonth, than that produced by the mines in half a century. In the year 1759, an edict was issued, prohibiting the sale and distillation of spirits, on account of an epidemical disorder that made great ravages among the natives. The small-pox also, which is peculiarly fatal to the Indians, carried off great numbers; and a pestilential disorder, in 1750, depopulated whole villages. The increase of the castes must also be taken into account, as having to some extent naturally superseded the native race. All these circumstances taken together, if they will not fully explain the decrease that has taken place in the native population, will shew that the destructive effects of the *mita* have been considerably overrated.†

supposes that many Indians would elude the census; but this would be as likely to occur in 1550 as in 1790, and cannot affect the comparative estimate.

* See MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. i. p. 222; vol. ii. p. 133. It is asserted, in the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*, that, in 130 years, two millions of Indians were either slain or carried into captivity by the Brazilians.

† The rate at which depopulation has proceeded in some parts of the Turkish empire, far exceeds that which appears to have occurred in Peru; and even in the mother country, Spain, making every allowance for emigration, (forced and voluntary,) it was not less prodigious. Under Ferdinand and Isabella, the population of Spain was estimated at twenty millions; in 1700, it had sunk to eight!

The *repartimiento* was a privilege originally granted to the *corregidors*, or governors of districts, with the best intentions, empowering them to furnish, at a fair price to the Indians, articles of necessary consumption. This privilege, although regulated by law, inevitably degenerated, however, into a compulsory and oppressive exaction. Not only were dying mules, damaged goods, and other worthless articles forced upon the Indians at double or triple the value of the best commodities of the kind, but razors (for men without beards), silk stockings (for Indians who go barefoot), spectacles (for people who retain their eyesight unimpaired to very old age), and articles of luxury, the very use of which was unknown, formed part of the supplies which they were compelled to purchase. The collection of the royal tribute afforded the *corregidor* another pretence for exactions; while the priests to whose spiritual guardianship the Indians were assigned, plundered them without mercy of the little which escaped the rapacity of the governors.

But "the bow, however elastic, may be bent until it breaks." In the year 1780, the Indians, after enduring, for ages, these cruel exactions with apparent patience and apathy, were instigated to rise upon their oppressors. The immediate occasion of this disastrous insurrection was the avarice of the *corregidors* of Chayanta and Tinta, who, within that year, had ventured to impose upon the Indians of those districts, three *repartimientos*, each of which produced about 150,000 dollars. At the head of the insurgents was a cacique who claimed to be a descendant of the last Inca, Tupac Amaru, who was beheaded in 1562;* and

* "Manco Inca (the brother of Atahualpa) made war without success against the Spaniards. He retired at length into the mountains and thick forests of Villabamba, which are accessible

to give éclat to the cause, he assumed not only the name of his ancestor, (which means, the highly endowed,) but the style and pomp of the Incas. The name of this Peruvian Ipsilanti was Don José Gabriel Condorcanqui, cacique of Tungasuca. He had received such education as the country afforded, in the college of San Borja at Cuzco. His countenance was noble, his stature lofty, his manners prepossessing, and he possessed virtues which would have adorned private life; but he was destitute of those higher qualities which would have fitted him to be the restorer of an empire. Instead of uniting and making common cause with the Spanish Americans who, born on the same soil, were entitled to the same rights as himself, he directed his hostilities indiscriminately against them and their common oppressors; and he thus provoked a fate which a policy so narrow and unjust could not but ensure. The popularity of his cause, however, soon attracted to his standard a multitude of undisciplined Indians, whom he had neither the means of arming, nor the talent to train in military tactics; but their desperate valour, in which

either by Huamanga and Antahuaylla, or by the valley of Yucay, north of Cuzco. Of the two sons of Manco Inca, the eldest, Sayri Inca, surrendered himself to the Spaniards upon the invitation of the viceroy of Peru, Hurtado de Mendoza. He was received with great pomp at Lima, was baptized there, and died peaceably in the fine valley of Yucay. The youngest son of Manco Inca, Tupac Amaru, was carried off by stratagem from the forests of Villabamba, and beheaded on pretext of a conspiracy formed against the Spanish usurpers. At the same period, thirty-five distant relations of the Inca Atahualpa were seized and conveyed to Lima, in order to remain under the inspection of the *Audiencia*."—Humboldt's Pers. Narr. vol. v. p. 855. Sayri Tupac, who assumed, on his baptism, the name of Don Diego Inca, left an only daughter, who was married to Don Martin Garcia Onez de Loyola, from whom is descended the family of the Marquises of Oropesa and Alcanices.—Alcedo's Dict.

even the women partook, seemed for a time to counterbalance the discipline, the arms, and the skill of their opponents. At length, Tupac Amaru was taken prisoner, and after witnessing the execution of his wife and children, was put to death with studied and revolting barbarity.*

This barbarous treatment of their leader, instead of having the desired effect of terrifying the insurgents into submission, only served to rouse numbers who had hitherto remained passive, to join in the insurrection. Headed by their chiefs, they kept up a desultory but destructive warfare, and cut to pieces several detachments of Spaniards. Andres, the nephew of Tupac Amaru, even laid siege to Sorata, a town near La Paz, where the Spaniards of the neighbouring districts had taken refuge, with their families and effects. "The unarmed Indians were unequal to the storming of fortifications which, although constructed only of earth, were lined with artillery. But their leader surmounted this difficulty by the adoption of a measure that would have done credit to any commander. By the construction of a lengthened mound, he collected the waters which flow from the neighbouring snowy heights of Ancoma, and turning them against the earthen ramparts, washed them away. The immediate result was, the storming of the town, and the massacre of its inhabitants (estimated at 20,000), with circumstances of horror exceeding the death of Tupac Amaru. Excepting the clergy, not a single male was left alive. But the vanity of these rude chieftains led them to trifle away, in ridiculous assumptions of royalty, that time which ought to have been spent in warlike operations; and the Spaniards

* His tongue was first cut out, and he was then torn asunder by wild horses.

finally succeeded in obtaining, by treachery, what their cruelty had failed of effecting. The two principal Indian chiefs, in consequence of bribes artfully applied, were delivered up by confidential servants to the enemy, and the rebellion was soon suppressed. The only beneficial result which it produced, was, the abolition of the *repartimiento*." * The brother of Tupac Amaru, after having been confined thirty years in Ceuta, reached Buenos Ayres in 1822, where the Republican Government granted him a house, with a pension of thirty dollars a month. †

We must now proceed to give a brief sketch of a revolutionary struggle, in which Peru was the last of the Spanish provinces to take part; and it is there that the Royalists have made their last stand for the mother country. Twenty years have now elapsed since the first insurrectionary movements took place in the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, which had their origin in the invasion of Spain by the armies of Napoleon; and the independence of these countries, at least, has been effectually achieved. The convulsion has shaken to ruins the colonial institutions; and whatever fate may await the feeble and ill-consolidated governments

* Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 16—19. The abolition of the *encomiendas* took place at the same time. See, for a further account of the regulations respecting the Indians, MOD. TRAV., Mexico, vol. i. p. 204.

† "The late political events of Spain have liberated from prison the remains of the family of Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui, an artful and intrepid man, who, under the name of the Inca Tupac Amaru, attempted, in 1781, that restoration of the ancient dynasty, which Raleigh had projected in the time of Queen Elizabeth." Humboldt's Pers. Trav. vol. v. p. 855. This was not the first attempt of the kind. The supposition that some of the princes of the house of Manco Capac survived in the interior, gave rise, in 1741, to the rebellion of the Chuncoes, and to that of the Amajes and Campoes, led on by their chief, Juan Santos, called the false Atahualpa.

erected on the still trembling soil, the generation which has since risen into manhood, will never be brought to bow to a foreign yoke. Peru Proper and Upper Peru now constitute two distinct republics, having, for their respective capitals, Lima and Chuquisaca. The history of these changes will involve the whole story of the revolutionary war.

It is a remarkable fact, that the first revolutionary proceedings originated in an enthusiastic loyalty to the imbecile Ferdinand, and a determination to disobey the orders sent out from Bayonne, to transfer their allegiance to the intrusive king, the brother of Napoleon. On the 15th of July, 1808, the people of Caracas took the lead in proclaiming Ferdinand VII., the captain-general and *audiencia* being compelled to yield to the loyal clamour of the inhabitants, and a solemn oath of allegiance to the legitimate monarch was taken by acclamation. A decree of Charles V., in 1530, confirmed by Philip II. in 1563, authorised, in cases of emergency, the convocation of cortes, or general *juntas*, in the respective kingdoms of Spanish America. The state of affairs at this crisis seemed to present one of the emergencies thus provided for. The authority of the crown was suspended by the imprisonment of the rightful sovereign; and the only means of saving the colonies from the yoke of France seemed to be, the exercise of the right legally and constitutionally vested in these assemblies; "and yet, this step, the only legal measure that a people so circumstanced could have taken to preserve tranquillity, and to demonstrate their devoted attachment, proved the signal for the declaration of hostilities by Spain, and the commencement of a war of extermination."*

The same feelings that led to this demonstration

* Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 41.

of loyalty in Caracas, displayed themselves almost simultaneously in every part of the colonies. In Mexico, the viceroy Iturrigaray, supported by the *cabildo*, himself proposed to convoke a *junta*, as the best means of preserving the country from the horrors of anarchy; but the Europeans in that capital, who formed the most powerful party, arrested the aged viceroy, and sent him a prisoner to Spain. By this bold step, they frustrated the project; but the smothered feeling soon broke out into a popular insurrection.* In Caracas, the supreme junta assembled on the 19th of April, 1809, and one of its first acts was to banish the captain-general and the members of the *audiencia*. Juntas were convened at La Paz, on the 15th of July, in the same year; Quito, on the 19th of August; Santa Fé de Bogota, on the 25th of May, 1810; Buenos Ayres, on the same day; and Santiago de Chile, on the 18th of September.†

Buenos Ayres has been termed the cradle of South American independence; yet, at the period of the first British invasion, in 1806, Spain no where possessed more loyal subjects than on the banks of the Plata. "A more liberal feeling had been displayed towards this colony by the mother-country, than towards any of the other provinces. It had not very long been formed into a vice-royalty; orders had been issued to establish a university there; the intercourse with Spain was promoted by regular packets; and a literary gazette was permitted to be printed. Unlike Mexico

* See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. i. p. 100.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 61. M. Humboldt assigns April 19, 1810, as the date of the assembling of the junta of Venezuela (Pers. Nar. vol. v. p. 224); but the revolution began in 1809. So early as May in that year, a popular commotion at Charcas occasioned the deposition of Pizarro, the president.

and Peru, no revolutionary feelings had ever been manifested in the country; and the people, dwelling in equality, and equally rich, seemed absorbed in the care of their numerous herds."* When General Beresford offered, in the name of the British Government, to assist the natives in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and to guarantee their independence, and when Sir Samuel Auchmuty sent a flag of truce from Monte Video, in March 1807, to renew the same proposals, they were not listened to, so loyal at that time were the Buenos-Ayreans.† But the subjugation of the mother-country by the French, a nation peculiarly offensive to them, changed altogether the current of popular feeling. A project is said to have been entertained by some of the most influential persons, to invite the princess-regent of Portugal to establish her court at Buenos Ayres; a measure which must have recommended itself only as a cover for asserting a virtual independence. But it was rendered abortive by the arrival of the viceroy Cisneros, in 1809, who, in concert with General Elio, the Governor of Monte Video, espoused the cause of Ferdinand; and Liniers, the brave defender of Buenos Ayres against the English, was deposed and banished as a traitor.‡

The proceedings of the new viceroy were ill-adapted, however, to allay the excitement of the popular feeling, or to reconcile the inhabitants to their dependence

* Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 222.

† A secret proposal was subsequently made to General Whitelock, by certain individuals in Buenos Ayres, to support them in an attempt to establish their independence; but the policy of the British Government was now changed, and Whitelock had no instructions which authorised his compliance.—Miller, vol. i. p. 58.

‡ Miller, vol. i. p. 59. See also Mod. Trav., Brazil, &c. vol. ii. p. 317. The tender of her royal protection is said to have proceeded from the princess herself, in imitation of the sovereign of Portugal, who had transferred his court to Rio.

upon Spain. Cisneros made every effort to fulfil the orders of the court of Madrid to close the ports of the Plata against English trade, which, in spite of repeated prohibition, had continued to increase. These measures drew forth from an enlightened native, Don Mariano Moreno, a spirited publication, advocating the necessity of renouncing a narrow-minded policy so incompatible with the national prosperity. The Spanish merchants, on the other hand, who foresaw in the admission of foreigners to equal privileges, an end to their own monopoly, called upon Cisneros to enforce the colonial laws, pointing out the imminent danger which would accrue to religion, from opening commercial channels to the English. "Peremptory decrees were issued almost from day to day, ordering the English to withdraw within a specified time; and an *oidor* was appointed to see these decrees duly executed; but they were evaded under different pretexts; and such was the effect of Moreno's paper, that the viceroy was unable to close the ports against the English. Nay, he felt compelled to connive at British merchants carrying on their trade by means of Spanish consignees;—a triumph on the part of Moreno, which removed or diminished some of the difficulties which must have obstructed the progress of the revolution. An additional reason for the acquiescence of Cisneros was, the necessity of replenishing an empty treasury, which could not be done without relaxing the prohibitory system. From this period, the principal supporters of the Princess Carlota changed their views, and formed plans of ultimately setting up the standard of independence. After some political struggles, they succeeded in deposing the viceroy; and on the 25th of May, 1810, named a *junta gubernativa*, composed of nine members, with Don Cornelio de Saavedra as

their president, and Dons J. J. Passo and Mariano Moreno as secretaries."* Cisneros was subsequently banished to the Canary Islands, and Liniers, who had become the leader of the Spanish party, was made prisoner near Cordova, and shot.†

The first revolutionary movements were accomplished in Chile without difficulty or violence. There were few Spanish troops in the country, and the two parties of Independents and Royalists were actuated by less virulent animosity to each other than in other quarters. On the 18th of July, 1810, the captain-general, Carrasco, was displaced, and the Count de la Conquista was appointed in his stead. Under his administration, the plan of the revolution was matured. The chief instrument in bringing about this change was Señor Alvarez de Jonte, who had been deputed for that purpose from the Governing Junta at Buenos Ayres. On the 18th of September, a junta, composed of seven of the most distinguished citizens, was established at Santiago de Chile, and its authority was instantly acknowledged by the provinces with every demonstration of joy. The sovereignty of Ferdinand

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 59—61.—"Moreno," says this Author, to whom we are indebted for the best account of these transactions, "excelled as an orator and a writer. As a public man, he was honest, enthusiastic, and laborious. His private character was unimpeachable. He was not acquainted with English literature, but was familiar with that of France. Raynal was his favourite author. Had Moreno resided for a time in England, it is probable, that the spirit with which the writings of the French philosophers often inspire the American reader, would have been corrected, and that practical experience would have given him additional power to become permanently useful to his countrymen." He subsequently accepted a mission to England, and died on the passage, in the thirty-third year of his age. His best monument is the public library which he founded in his native city, Buenos Ayres.

† See MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 319.

VII. was proclaimed by the junta; the coinage continued to bear his effigy; the tribunal of the *real audiencia* remained in full exercise of its functions; and justice continued to be administered in the royal name. No Spaniard was removed from his employment, and a singular unanimity seemed to pervade all classes. Nothing occurred to disturb the public tranquillity until the following April, when the Spanish colonel, Figueroa, the governor of Valdivia, having gained over a part of the garrison, attempted to effect a counter-revolution. For the first time, the sound of hostile musketry was now heard; but the junta was fortunately enabled to bring an overpowering force, who defeated the hostile faction. Fifty-six lives only were lost in the struggle, which was terminated by the capture of Figueroa, who was brought to trial and shot. It being ascertained that the members of the *audiencia* had secretly encouraged the conspirators, that tribunal was dissolved, but its members were permitted to remain in the capital; and the government deemed itself sufficiently secure to be able to despatch some aid to Buenos Ayres, at that time pressed by the active measures of Elio, the governor of Monte Video.

In the mean time, the Buenos-Ayreans had been successfully directing their attention to the distant provinces of the viceroyalty. The opposition of Cordova having been suppressed by the execution of Liniers, Colonel Don Antonio de Balcarce was sent to take possession of Upper Peru, where the governors of Potosi and Charcas had declared against the revolution. On the 27th of October, 1810, the royalist general, Nieto, was defeated at Cotogaita; and on the 7th of November, the royalist colonel, Cordova, met with the same fate at Tupiaza. These successes gave Balcarce possession of the upper provinces as far as

the bridge of the Inca over the Desaguadero (the outlet of Lake Titicaca), where he established his headquarters, and augmented his force to about 4000 men. Here he was joined by Dr. Castelli as civil commissioner,—a ferocious republican, at whose instigation, the Governor of Potosi, a Spaniard very highly respected, the president of Charcas (General Nieto), and a naval officer (son of Admiral Cordova), were shot in the square at Potosi. Struck with terror at these decisive but unjustifiable proceedings, the feeble Spaniards abandoned their strongest positions at the approach of the patriots; and all opposition being over, the small division which had left the bank of the Plata, celebrated the first anniversary of the revolution amid the ruins of the palace of the Incas at Tiaguanaco, near the north-western boundary of the viceroyalty, 690 leagues from Buenos Ayres.

But the advantages gained in this first campaign, were disgracefully thrown away by the gross misconduct of Castelli, who, while rejecting with insolence the overtures of Abascal, the viceroy of Lima, abandoned himself to dissolute pleasures, and neglected every proper means of providing against hostile attack. The viceroy, in the mean time, was not idle. General Goyeneche, a native of Arequipa, who united in himself the three functions of law, theology, and arms, being appointed to the command of the royalist forces, drew 4000 men from Cuzco and Arequipa, and placed himself on the northern side of the Desaguadero, within two days' march of the Independents. Previously to this, a suspension of hostilities had been mutually agreed upon; and six days of the armistice remained unexpired, when Goyeneche, disdaining to keep an engagement with insurgents, attacked and defeated Castelli and Balcarce at Huaqui, on the

20th of June, 1811. The remains of their scattered force sought safety in Jujuy, 236 leagues southward of the scene of conflict. Notwithstanding Balcarce's disgraceful retreat, Goyeneche, in his advance, met with considerable opposition from the patriotic natives of Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, and Chayanta, where the cruelties committed under his sanction have attached infamy to his name. For his services, he was created Count of Huaqui. Castelli was recalled to Buenos Ayres, and placed under arrest, where mortification, acting upon an exhausted constitution, brought him to the grave in the ensuing year.

In Paraguay, the Independent forces had also encountered disaster and disgrace. At the time that all danger seemed to be removed on the side of Peru by the first successes of Balcarce, the Junta of Buenos Ayres had turned its attention to Paraguay; and 2000 men, raised and equipped at great expense, were sent under Don Manuel Belgrano to enforce the submission of that province. No answer being given, Belgrano advanced, unopposed, into the heart of the country; and having arrived within a day's march of Assumpcion, he halted with the pleasing expectation of making his entry into that capital on the following morning. But, as night closed in, numerous fires were seen to blaze around, which excited no small surprise and alarm; and at day-break, Belgrano found his little army surrounded by countless hordes of armed natives, from whom they could expect nothing but annihilation. A skirmish ensued; but, when apparently upon the point of being overwhelmed, Belgrano was agreeably surprised by a flag of truce from Yedros, the General of the Paraguayans, bearing a message to the following effect:—That, although the troops of Buenos Ayres were completely in its power, the Go-

vernment of Paraguay felt no disposition to treat them as enemies; that, on the contrary, they considered the Buenos-Ayreans as brethren engaged in the same cause; that Belgrano, having satisfied himself that the Paraguayans possessed the power as well as the inclination to maintain their distinct independence, was at liberty to retire unmolested; and that provisions and supplies of every kind should be furnished to facilitate his return. Belgrano gladly accepted the offered terms, and counter-marched to Buenos Ayres. Dr. Francia, who has since become celebrated as the dictator of Paraguay, was at this time secretary to the provincial government, and is supposed to have been the contriver of this measure, by which the Buenos-Ayreans received a lesson they will not easily forget.*

On the 23d of September, 1811, a change in the government at Buenos Ayres took place. Saavedra, the president, with his colleagues, was compelled to retire, and Don Manuel Sarratea was appointed to the presidency of the junta. In October 1812, another change was effected by military commotion, and an executive of three was established, under the title of *el gobierno superior*, by whom a sovereign constituent assembly was convened on the 30th of January, 1813. It was not till now, that the Spanish flag and cockade were replaced by the *bi-color*, blue and white. The coinage now also bore the arms of the republic. On the last day of this year, the *gobierno superior* was abolished, and the executive power was vested in a supreme director, Señor Posadas, assisted by a council of seven. While these changes were going forward, some brilliant successes had attended the arms of the

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 69—70.

patriots. On the last day of 1812, General Rondeau, at the head of 1500 newly-raised troops, repulsed 2000 Spaniards about a league from Monte Video, driving them back to the walls of the fortress. On the 24th of September, 1812, General Belgrano had the good fortune to defeat, at Tucuman, a body of royalists, 3000 strong, under General Don Pio Tristan, who had advanced from Potosi with the intention of penetrating to the city of Buenos Ayres itself. In this affair, Belgrano had only 800 soldiers, and some guerrillas of ill-armed *gauchos*. After this brilliant affair, he increased his numbers to about 2000 troops, with which he obtained, on the 20th of February, 1813, another signal victory over Tristan, who had taken refuge in the town of Salta, eighty-seven leagues to the N. of Tucuman. Belgrano gallantly attacked the Spaniards in their parapeted hold. They lost 500 in killed, and the patriots 300, and the surviving royalists were all made prisoners; but they were generously permitted to retire into Peru, upon their binding themselves by oath not to bear arms against the republic. From this engagement, the archbishop of Charcas, in the plenitude of his dispensing power, undertook to absolve them; and the perjured general, with his troops, incorporated themselves with the royalist army under General Pezuela (afterwards viceroy of Peru). Having, by these dishonourable means, augmented his force to 4000 men, he attacked and defeated Belgrano at Vilcapugio (between Potosi and Oruro), on the 1st of October; and again at Ayoma (in Cochabamba), on the 14th of November. The unfortunate patriot general escaped with a remnant of his force to Tucuman. Several guerrilla leaders, however, remained in the mountains of Upper Peru, who harassed the royalist

detachments, and had the advantage in repeated rencounters.

In the north, the patriot cause had assumed, at this time, a very discouraging aspect. The Cadiz Regency had declared war against the province of Caracas, in 1810, upon their announcing their determination to hold their country for their rightful sovereign; and from that period, shut up within the Isle de Leon, it had directed, with singular infatuation, its entire energies against the people of America. The congress which succeeded to the supreme junta of Caracas in March 1811, issued a declaration of independence on the 5th of July, 1811. On the 23d of December, the new constitution was agreed upon; in pursuance of which, the congress was summoned to assemble in March 1812, at Valencia, in the valley of Aragua. The cause wore at this period every appearance of prosperity, when a calamity occurred, as dreadful in its nature as disastrous in its political consequences. This was the great earthquake of March 26, 1812, by which the capital and most of the principal cities of Venezuela were laid in ruins, thousands of the inhabitants being buried under their houses.* The priests, who had been shorn of some of their privileges by the new constitution, eagerly embraced the opportunity afforded by this awful catastrophe, of working upon the superstition of the inhabitants, by ascribing the earthquake to the vengeance of Heaven against the patriots. A universal panic seized the minds of the people; the congress were obliged to adjourn their sessions; and General Miranda, upon whom, in this emergency, they had conferred the authority and name

* See Mod. Trav. Colombia, pp. 119—132.

of Dictator, was ultimately compelled to conclude a capitulation with the royalist general, Monteverde, on the 25th of July, 1812, by which Venezuela was given up to the Spaniards, on the condition of a general amnesty, three months being allowed to all such as desired to quit the country. The terms of this convention were, as might have been anticipated, violated without the slightest regard for honour or decency. Miranda and more than a thousand others of the patriots were thrown into the dungeons of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, where many of them perished. Cumana and Barcelona submitted to the infamous Monteverde, and the old government was re-established throughout Venezuela.*

* In this part of the story of the Revolution, the name of BOLIVAR first presents itself among the chief actors; but the friends and enemies of this extraordinary man differ widely in their representations of the part he took in these melancholy transactions. Mr. Miller's account is, that "Bolivar, alleging that Miranda had betrayed his country by capitulating to Monteverde, arrested him at La Guayra. Bolivar then demanded his passport; and when taken before Monteverde, the Spanish general said, that Colonel Bolivar's request should be complied with, as a reward for his having served the king of Spain, by delivering up Miranda. Bolivar answered, that he arrested him to punish a traitor to his country, and not to serve the king. This answer had nearly included him in the general proscription; but the good offices of Don Francisco Iturbe, secretary to Monteverde, procured the passport, and Bolivar was allowed to sail for Curaçoa." Bolivar, it is added, "seems to have been hurried into a dreadful error by the warmth of his feelings. Not only is the expediency of the capitulation admitted by eye-witnesses of the first respectability, but also that Miranda had no other alternative."—Miller, vol. ii. pp. 316, 17. From another authority not less respectable, we copy the following very different statement. Bolivar had been intrusted by Miranda with the command of the important post of Puerto Cabello; but the Spanish prisoners confined in the castle of San Felipe, which commanded that place, succeeded, by corrupting the officer on guard, in obtaining possession of the castle, and thus obliged Bolivar to evacuate the place, July 1, 1812, and to undergo

The republicans were still the predominant party throughout nearly the whole kingdom of New Granada; but Santa Marta and Rio de la Hacha were in the possession of the royalists. It was of the first importance that they should be driven from these positions; and a French officer, named Labatut, was employed on this service by the Independent Government of Cartagena. Having been successful in forcing several of the enemy's positions, he was appointed commander-in-chief on the Magdalena; and he was fortunate enough at length to take Santa Marta, although he soon lost it again by his incapacity and imprudence. At this period, Colonel Bolivar, having made his escape from Venezuela, arrived at Cartagena, in company with several other emigrants, and proffered his services to the Republican Government. They were of course accepted, and he was appointed to the command of the little station of Barranca,* within the district committed to the adventurer

the mortification of returning to Caracas, to communicate the unwelcome news to his general. The loss of Puerto Cabello gave such decided advantage to the royalists, that it led, we are told, to the necessity of concluding the capitulation. "Relying upon the protection of this treaty, General Miranda, with the other leading patriots, including Bolivar, retired to La Guayra, for the purpose of embarking for Cartagena. Unfortunately, La Guayra was then commanded by Colonel Manuel Maria Casas, who, to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, contrived to seize and deliver up his countrymen to their merciless enemies. Bolivar was under the necessity of submitting to great sacrifices to regain his liberty" (of what nature we are not told); "but he finally obtained a passport from Monteverde, by special favour, and escaped to Curaçoa."—North American Review, No. lxii. art. "*Historia de la Revolucion de la Republica de Colombia, por Jose Manuel Restrepo, Secretario del Interior.*" This certainly has, of the two accounts, the greater appearance of probability. That Bolivar should have arrested his own general, and delivered him up to the Spaniards, is not easily credible.

* See Mod. Trav., Colombia, p. 300.

Labatut, and therefore regularly under his orders. But the enterprising spirit and impatience of control by which this extraordinary man is distinguished, led him to undertake, on his own responsibility, a movement marked by that boldness of conception and vigorous, rapid execution which afterwards characterized his achievements as the leader of the armies of independence. "By fortifying the town of Tenerife, the Spaniards were enabled to obstruct the navigation of the Upper Magdalena. While, therefore, Labatut was seeking to reduce Santa Marta, Bolivar prepared a little expedition with such scanty resources as he could collect, suddenly attacked the Spaniards in Tenerife, drove them before him, and gathering an accession of forces as he proceeded, continued his victorious march to Mompox,* dispersing the hostile parties which occupied various positions on the eastern bank of the Magdalena (December, 1812). Labatut, who had given no orders for this expedition, and who felt jealous of the reputation Bolivar was acquiring, loudly demanded that he should be subjected to trial before a court-martial, for his unauthorized procedure. But the government of Cartagena justly appreciated Labatut's motives, and wisely protected Bolivar in an assumption of power which he was using so advantageously. Meanwhile, he was recognised at Mompox as 'commandant of arms' in the district; and having obtained a re-inforcement of regular troops, militia, and gun-boats, he resolved, ascending the Magdalena, to penetrate into the interior of the province, having now a body of 500 men under his command. The Spaniards, who had boasted that they would not even respect a flag of

* See Mod. Trav., Colombia, p. 303.

truce, fled in disorder before him to Chiriguana, where they were overtaken and dispersed, their commanders, Capmani and Capdevila, escaping with difficulty. The result of this expedition was, the deliverance of the city of Ocaña, which Bolivar entered in triumph, amid the *vivas* and acclamations of the oppressed inhabitants (January, 1813).

"Bolivar's arrival at Ocaña was, indeed, at a most opportune moment; for a division of the Spanish army under Correa was preparing to penetrate into New Granada, which, torn by civil dissensions, possessing few able officers, and destitute of adequate munitions of war, was in no state to withstand the coming foe. The Congress of New Granada had committed this task to Colonel Manuel Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona; who immediately applied to Bolivar for assistance in defending Pamplona and Cucutá. As Bolivar depended on the government of Cartagena, he waited to obtain their consent, and meanwhile rapidly traversed the whole line of the Magdalena to Mompox, collecting arms and ammunition, and information concerning the position and force of the enemy. He now conceived the daring project of reconquering Venezuela. Filled with enthusiasm himself, and having inspired his little army with the same noble sentiments, he took the field with only 400 men, and a few additional muskets for arming Castillo's battalion. From Ocaña, he proceeded by the rough road across the lofty cordillera which stretches along the province of Santa Marta, directing his march towards the city of Salazar de las Palmas. Spreading a false report of the strength of his army, he caused the enemy to abandon an impregnable position upon the heights of La Aguada, and every successive point at which they rallied, until he reached

San Cayetano. None of these advantages cost him a drop of blood, being all owing to the celerity of his movements, to his intrepidity, and the superiority of his genius in the art of war. At length, Correa concentrated his diminished and weary forces in the city of San José de Cucutá, where Bolivar resolved to attack him in his quarters, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with doubtful success, until Bolivar commanded his followers to charge with bayonets, and the impetuosity of their attack decided the victory in his favour (February 28th, 1813). The Spanish troops sustained a total rout, leaving all their artillery, munitions, and baggage to the conquerors. Correa himself escaped, although badly wounded; but the patriots gained an immense booty in merchandise, which the merchants of Maracaybo, supposing the conquest of New Granada certain, had caused to be conveyed to Cucutá for sale. The victory was of immense importance, therefore, to New Granada, by freeing the valleys of Cucutá of the presence of a dangerous enemy, and completely defeating the object of the Spaniards in organizing Correa's expedition.

"All eyes were now turned on the fortunate individual who, by the mere force of personal talent, had, in so short a period, achieved such brilliant success. The Congress of New Granada immediately appointed him to the rank of Brigadier, accompanying the commission with the most flattering expressions of confidence and applause. Stimulated by the reputation he had so quickly acquired, Bolivar was impatient to march upon Venezuela; but his preparations did not proceed tranquilly or smoothly. Reverses were suffered by the patriots of Cartagena, who again lost

possession of Santa Marta, and made a requisition upon Bolivar for the troops of Mompox. But a more serious difficulty occurred by reason of a difference between Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona, and Bolivar, whose command was within Castillo's military jurisdiction. Bolivar sought to avoid a serious rupture with Castillo by all reasonable advances to accommodation, but without success. An angry correspondence ensued; and appeals on each side to the authority of the Congress, produced nothing but mutual criminations, which served to render the breach irreparable. The principal charges brought by Castillo against Bolivar, were, that he preserved no order in his division; that he suffered all the booty captured in Cucutá to be dissipated foolishly; in fine, that he thought of undertaking the delivery of Venezuela without the necessary troops and resources, and would thus sacrifice the soldiers of the Union in a rash and impracticable enterprise. Bolivar, on the other hand, accused Castillo of introducing discord from envious motives, of being destitute of capacity, incapable of executing anything useful, and of losing the season for action in idle observance of misplaced rules of order. Probably, the imputations of both parties were not without foundation. Monteverde had then possession of Venezuela with 6000 men, while Bolivar's troops amounted to hardly 1000. Most persons, therefore, considered his plan as rash and wild, characterizing his project as worthy only of a desperate man, ready to venture everything upon a single hazard. His military credit was not yet established; and while his personal intrepidity, the boldness of his designs, and his great activity were universally admitted, the admission was coupled with accusations of temerity, of want of economy, and of

permitting the resources of the troops to be dissipated. But Bolivar himself never doubted for a moment of the result, provided the enterprise was conducted with boldness and celerity; and he succeeded in prevailing upon the Congress to authorize his advance into Venezuela. In the progress of that expedition, as on later occasions, it sufficiently appeared, that, in this case, as in many others of the same kind, Bolivar's views were distrusted only because they were in advance of those of his contemporaries and associates. Bolivar broke loose at once from the shackles of military routine which enslaved the Spanish officers. He astonished them by forced marches over roads previously deemed impracticable to a regular army. While they were manœuvring, hesitating, calculating, guarding the customary avenues of approach, he surprised them by concentrating a superior force upon a point where they least expected an attack, cut up their troops in detail, and substituted a system of rapid and brilliant evolutions for the tardy movements of his predecessors. To do this, however, it was necessary that much apparent, and some real disorder should introduce itself into the commissariat of his army, to so marked a degree at least, as to outrage the notions of such a narrow-minded formalist as Castillo. The latter co-operated with him in the outset, and was usefully employed in driving Correa from La Grita; but, at length, declaring that he could no longer lend his countenance to an expedition so wild, he resigned his commission, after marching his detachment of the troops back to Tunja.

"The Congress of New Granada had appointed commissioners to accompany Bolivar and direct his operations; but the celerity of his movements prevented their joining him. Before they could reach

Cucutá, he had already pushed his little army, now reduced to about 500 men, into the heart of the province of Merida, and was proceeding onward unincumbered by commissioners or troublesome associates in command. Previously to his departure, however, and while he was making his preparations at Cucutá, a Venezuelan officer, Colonel Briceño, had collected a small party of cavalry, and set out for the city of San Cristoval, on his own authority, although he had promised to submit himself to Bolivar's orders. Hardly had he arrived there (April 1813), when, thinking to strike terror into the Spaniards, he issued a gasconading proclamation, declaring war *á muerte* against them, and offering liberty to such of their slaves as should kill their masters. Regardless of consequences, he penetrated with his little party as far as Guadalito, where he was met and routed by the Spaniards under Tiscar; who, in revenge of his conduct, ordered him and sixteen of his officers, with a number of the inhabitants of Varinas, to be shot in that city as rebels. Briceño's absurd proclamation occasioned Bolivar much uneasiness, because he was himself censured as responsible for it, until the atrocious procedure of the Spaniards became known.

"Bolivar at length commenced his march from San Cristoval with an army, small indeed for the mighty task they were undertaking, but commanded by officers worthy to be associated with their leader. He rapidly advanced towards Truxillo, driving the scattered fragments of Correa's force before him. Learning on the way, that the patriots of Merida had risen upon the Spaniards on hearing of his approach, he entered that place, July 5, 1813, and re-established the republican government as it had previously existed. Meantime, his vanguard, commanded

by Jirardot, occupied Truxillo, after a desperate but successful engagement with the last relics of the Spanish force in that quarter. Thus, the two provinces of Merida and Truxillo remained entirely free; and Bolivar was enabled to obtain such intelligence of the state of Venezuela, as to convince him that the happy termination of his enterprise depended solely on the celerity and decision of his movements; as any delay would not only occasion the consumption of his own resources, but would give the enemy opportunity to recover from their surprise, and to collect their troops. His measures were accordingly taken with energy and despatch corresponding to the importance of the emergency; and he laboured with incredible activity in augmenting his little army with recruits, and thus preparing for the desperate struggle involved in his ulterior movements. And ere he left Truxillo, circumstances occurred, which gave to the war a character of peculiar desperation. We allude to the declaration of *guerra á muerte*, made by Bolivar, which, as it is spoken of more frequently than it is understood, requires proper explanation in this place.

"In Merida and Truxillo, Bolivar received exact information of the enormities practised in Venezuela by Monteverde and his satellites. So far as Monteverde acted under positive instructions from the Spanish Government, the latter might be considered as more especially responsible; and their instructions amounted to the declaration of a war of extermination against the Patriots of Venezuela. Spain regarded all the patriots in the light of traitors and rebels found in arms against the king. Hence, her obstinacy in refusing to enter into any convention with them; hence, the contempt of her officers for the most solemn capitulations, on the ground that no agree-

ment made with traitors is obligatory; hence, their rejection of proposals for the exchange of prisoners, under circumstances the most favourable to themselves; hence, their atrocity in shooting in cold blood the officers or political chiefs of the republicans, and frequently also every soldier that fell into their hands, by way of making fit examples of public justice. All this afforded ample justification for acts of reprisal; the only method by which, in a state of war, such violations of inter-national law can be met by the suffering party. But Monteverde, or persons acting under his authority, committed innumerable other acts of gratuitous cruelty upon the unhappy Venezuelans, more becoming a fiend than a human being. In defiance of a solemn capitulation securing perfect immunity to persons and property, villages were sacked, and edifices burned. Multitudes of respectable individuals were thrown into miserable and noisome dungeons, in company with the basest felons, loaded with fetters, mutilated in wanton barbarity, shot, or subjected to a more ignominious death: in short, no device of ingenious persecution was left untried upon the wretched inhabitants. The state of things could not have been worse, if Venezuela had been taken possession of by a savage enemy, sword in hand, for the purposes of predatory conquest or devastation. Happily, this infatuated policy, short-sighted as it was iniquitous, awoke a spirit of resistance and of vengeance in the bosoms of the Venezuelans, which ensured their independence. All the horrible particulars came to Bolivar's knowledge on his entering Venezuela. At the same time, he received information of the recent butcheries in Varinas, which, as happening partly in consequence of his own enterprise, he deemed himself more immediately called upon to notice. In such circumstances

of extreme irritation was this celebrated declaration issued, under date of Merida, June 8th, 1813. It was the terrible resource of a season of despair. It is couched in the most passionate language of outraged feelings, smarting under the sense of unprecedented wrongs; and breathes a spirit of vindictive resentment which nothing but the horrors of such a warfare could have kindled in the human breast.*

* Another proclamation of the same tenor was issued at Truxillo, July 15, 1813; and a justificatory letter was subsequently put forth by Bolivar on the same subject. These papers are characterized by the same declamatory, turgid style which pervades all Bolivar's proclamations and other state papers, in which the inflated idiom of the Spanish language is carried to the utmost limits of propriety; but the marks of no ordinary mind are evinced in every page. After stating the purpose of the expedition, and denouncing the general character of the Spaniards in America, the first proclamation concludes thus: "The executioners who entitle themselves our enemies, have violated the sacred rights of nations in Quito, La Paz, Mexico, Caracas, and recently in Popayan. They sacrificed in their dungeons our virtuous brethren in the cities of Quito and La Paz; they beheaded thousands of them prisoners in Mexico; they buried alive in the subterranean vaults and pontons of Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, our fathers, children, and friends of Venezuela; they have immolated the president and commandant of Popayan with all their companions in misfortune; and ultimately, O God! as it were in our very presence, they have perpetrated a horrid butchery in Varinas of our fellow soldiers made prisoners of war, and of our peaceful compatriots of that city. But these victims shall be avenged, these executioners shall be exterminated. Our gentleness is already exhausted; and since our oppressors force us to a mortal struggle, they shall disappear from America, and our soil shall be purged of the monsters that infest it. Our hatred shall be implacable, and the war shall be unto death." This declaration has been characterized in very opposite terms; but if ever occasion existed, which could authorize the application of such desperate and barbarous measures, this must be admitted to have been one. The Spaniards having, from the commencement of the war, put to death all persons found with arms in their hands, while the Independents gave quarter to the royalists, many of the natives preferred entering the royalist ranks, feeling secure that their lives would be safe in case

"Bolivar, ascertaining the favourable aspect of things in Venezuela, in consequence of Monteverde's tyranny, directed his first attention towards the province of Varinas, then occupied by a Spanish force of 2000 men under Don Antonio Tiscar, destined for the invasion of New Granada. When Tiscar was informed that Bolivar, in his rapid advance upon Truxillo, had followed the road westward of the Cordillera, between that and the lake of Maracaybo, he determined to cross the mountain at two points, and to intercept Bolivar's communication with Cucutá; sending one detachment to Merida under Don José Marti, and holding another in readiness at Guadalito under Don José Yañez. Discovering Tiscar's plan, Bolivar despatched his rear-guard under Rivas, with orders to engage Marti, while he daringly threw himself into Guanare, thus intercepting Tiscar's communication with Caracas. The happiest result attended this bold manœuvre. Rivas obtained a brilliant victory over Marti, on the heights of Niquitao, absolutely destroying his detachment; and Bolivar took possession of Guanare by surprise, obtaining a large and valuable booty; while his vanguard, under Jirardot, vigorously pursued Tiscar, whose scattered troops ultimately retired into the remote plains of the Apure. Thus, Bolivar accomplished his first object, of dispersing the Spaniards nearest New Granada; which, now freed from the apprehensions of invasion, acknowledged at last the justness of Bolivar's views; and President

of being made prisoners. Bolivar perceived the great disadvantage under which he laboured; and it was not merely in retaliation, therefore, that he had recourse to a system of reprisal which made the danger in that respect equal on both sides. It was the only policy, moreover, barbarous as it was, that could deter the enemy from persisting in so atrocious a departure from the ordinary rules of civilized warfare.

Torres acquired much credit for having sustained him against all the attacks and intrigues of his enemies.

"Bolivar now formed his army, which had increased considerably during his late operations, into two divisions, and directed their march towards Caracas, through the provinces of Truxillo and Varinas. Several engagements were fought, before Monteverde collected his forces for a decisive trial of strength. At last, he assembled his best troops at Lastoguanes, and sustained a total defeat, in consequence of which he was obliged to shut himself up in Puerto Cabello; and Bolivar obtained possession of Caracas by the capitulation of the Spanish governor. He continued his career of victory in Venezuela, while Mariño was effecting the deliverance of the eastern provinces; and with such glorious success, that, in August (1813), Puerto Cabello alone remained in the possession of the Spaniards, and Bolivar was justly hailed as the LIBERATOR OF VENEZUELA. Monteverde received a reinforcement of troops from Spain, and again took the field, refusing all exchanges of prisoners, disregarding the ordinary rules of warfare, and giving to the contest a character of unprecedented desperation and ferocity. But one victory after another crowned the arms of the patriots; and at the close of the year, Venezuela still continued to be independent. During this period, all the powers of government were vested in Bolivar alone, who, acting under the advice of the magistrates and principal citizens of Caracas, retained the dictatorial authority which he derived from his situation as general of the liberating army. It is not alleged, that he himself abused his authority at any time; but complaints existed against the conduct of his inferior officers, who sometimes made the people feel the inconvenience of military rule, and the absence

of all regular civil government. No good, however, could have resulted from the convocation of the Congress; for the measures adopted by the Spaniards at the beginning of 1814, proved fatal to the cause of Bolivar and the patriots.

"The Spaniards, unable to maintain their power in Venezuela by fair means, resolved to lay waste the country, and to carry on a partisan warfare, until they could gather strength to take the field anew. To accomplish this, Bovez, Yañez, Rosette, Puy, Palomo, and others, men of desperate and reckless character, were supplied with arms and ammunition; and, to fill their ranks, the slave population of Venezuela was called to the Spanish standard. By these means, guerrilla parties, composed of vagabonds, outlaws, fugitive slaves, troops of base and lawless miscreants, such as infest a distracted country in times of war and civil commotion, were gathered under the command of leaders worthy of them, and presented a force formidable for their numbers, but still more so for their ferocity. Against these enemies, Bolivar contended with spirit and vigour, and, on the whole, with decided advantage. Venezuela might, perhaps, have defended herself successfully, but for the resources possessed by Bovez and Yañez on the plains of Varinas, whither the latter took refuge when Bolivar dispersed the forces of Tiscar, and where they served as a rallying point for the remnants of the regular royalist party. Though repeatedly vanquished by Bolivar, Urdaneta, Mariño, and others, they as often rallied; and the arrival of Cajigal as successor to Monteverde, with reinforcements from Coro, added to their strength. At last, Bolivar was so unfortunate as to be attacked in an unfavourable position by Bovez at La Puerta, and after an obstinate contest, was

obliged to yield the victory. Re-animated by this signal advantage, the Spaniards united their forces, and compelled Mariño to retreat to Cumana. In the confusion which ensued, the patriots lost all the fruits of a year of desperate and unceasing contention with their implacable enemies. In July 1814, Bovez entered Caracas, deserted by the best of its population, who justly dreaded the barbarity of the royalists. Bolivar once more took the field at Aragua, August 17, 1814, and was again beaten by Morales, the second in command to Bovez. Anarchy and division now reigned among the republican ranks. Bolivar had contended while hope remained; but, unable any longer to make head against the bloody and disastrous warfare which desolated his country, he abandoned it a second time, stripped of every thing but the glory of his heroic attempt." *

On his arrival at Cartagena, Bolivar found his old enemy, Castillo, in possession of great influence there, and busy in ascribing the loss of Venezuela to his mismanagement. Bolivar immediately repaired to Tunja, where the Congress of New Granada was in session, to submit his conduct to their judgement. He was received there with every mark of consideration, and intrusted with the delicate enterprise of employing the republican arms against Bogota, which, under its dictator, Alvarez, refused to join the Federal Union. He set out from Tunja at the head of 1300 troops of the line, and 500 militia, composed of cavalry; and reached, without opposition, the *hacienda* of Techo, a league and a half from Bogota. Various attempts had already been made by the Congress to effect an accommodation; and Bolivar repeated the offer once more, pre-

* Amer. Review, No. lxii. pp. 208—229.

paratory to laying siege to the city. But Alvarez had determined to abide the issue of an appeal to arms; and Bolivar had no alternative but to resume his march for the attack of the city. Notwithstanding a vigorous resistance, he drove in all their out-posts on the first day, and took, by assault, the barrier of San Barbara, by which means his line of circumvallation was completely established. The next day he captured the battery of San Victorino, and penetrated into the city; but the besieged had entrenched themselves in the great square, with a park of artillery, and Bolivar's troops were obliged to advance, foot by foot, meeting with the most determined resistance at every street. Final preparations were now made to assault the great square on the ensuing day (December 12, 1814); but, wearied by the violence of the contest, both parties felt willing to escape the horrors of the last assault, and Bolivar cheerfully acceded to a proposal for capitulation from Alvarez, who conceded the whole question in dispute. To heal the differences which had so long existed between the two parties, the authorities of Cundinamarca immediately invited the Congress to tranfer its sessions from Tunja to Bogota; which they accordingly did; and the consolidation of the Union was thus happily accomplished. The important service which Bolivar had rendered,* was acknowledged by an official letter of thanks, con-

* At the commencement of the expedition, Bolivar was vehemently execrated by the inhabitants of Bogota, and excommunicated by the ecclesiastical authorities; but, after it was over, they did justice to the manner in which he conducted the attack, by the most marked testimonials of respect. The city sustained considerable injury in the course of the attack; but nothing created such serious regret as the loss of the manuscripts, books, and collections in the observatory; the fruit of the labours of the celebrated Dr, Mutis and the astronomer Caldas.

taining the most flattering expressions of admiration, accompanied with a commission, the first which had been granted, of captain-general of the armies of the Republic.

It was now resolved upon to attempt the capture of San Marta, which remained in the possession of the royalists, and afterwards to march upon Rio Hacha and Maracaybo. Bolivar left Bogota for this service, with an army of 2000 men, and a military chest supplied for four months; but, for the requisite munitions of war, in which he was very deficient, he was furnished with orders of the General Government upon Cartagena. No sooner, however, did Castillo hear of Bolivar's appointment, than he issued a manifesto, consisting of a furious and malignant attack upon his character, public and private, impeaching his honour, talents, and even his personal courage. Deeply wounded by this extraordinary act, Bolivar addressed letters to Garcia Rovira, president of the United Provinces, and Camilo Torres, formerly president of the Congress; and their answers, containing the fullest refutation of Castillo's calumnies, were published as an antidote to the effects of his manifesto. The authorities of Cartagena, however, supported Castillo in his personal quarrel, and addressed circulars to the commandants on the river Magdalena, ordering them to refuse obedience to Bolivar, and not to allow him to advance with his troops further than Mompox. On arriving at that place, Bolivar addressed a message to Castillo, requesting the necessary aid for the reconquest of San Marta; but, after waiting in vain for a satisfactory answer to his demands, he determined to march upon Cartagena, and compel a compliance with the wishes of Congress. He confined his operations, however, to forming a line round the city, in

the hope that the authorities of Cartagena would at length desist from their opposition. A month had thus passed without producing any beneficial result, although Bolivar earnestly solicited an accommodation, when news was brought of the arrival of General Morillo at Margarita, with an army of 10,000 Spanish troops, and a powerful fleet, destined for the reduction of New Granada. The consternation with which both parties were filled by these tidings, produced an immediate cessation of hostilities. Bolivar, finding it impracticable to unite with Castillo and his faction, came to the resolution of throwing up his commission. Hastily concluding a treaty with Cartagena, he relinquished the command of the army to General Palacios, and embarked for Jamaica, May 8, 1815, accompanied by only a few of his attached friends, there to await a more favourable moment for again taking an active part in the deliverance of his country.* From Kingston (in Jamaica), Bolivar sent some supplies for the garrison of Cartagena, which, in consequence of the long investment, was nearly destitute of provisions; but, before they could arrive, that im-

* While residing in Jamaica, Bolivar published a short defence of his conduct, and various other papers, adapted to promote the cause of South American independence abroad. Had he remained in New Granada, there is every reason to believe that he would have either fallen in battle, or become a victim of legal proscription during Morillo's reign of bloodshed. He narrowly escaped assassination, however, at Kingston. A Spaniard in the pay of a royalist chief, repaired to Jamaica, and hired a negro slave to murder him. On the night appointed for the assassination, Bolivar happened to be absent from his lodgings, not having returned from an evening party, to which he had been invited; and an unfortunate emigrant, named Amestoy, occupied his bed. The slave, ignorant of this circumstance, entered the room, and plunged his dagger into the breast of the stranger. He was apprehended in the act, and suffered for his crime on the scaffold; but the name of his employer could not be ascertained.

portant fortress had been taken by the Spaniards. This enabled them to re-conquer New Granada, and the blood of its citizens was made to stream from the scaffold. In June 1816, the ruthless Morillo entered Bogota, where he remained till the November following; during which time, more than 600 individuals of those who had been in the congress and provincial governments, as well as the chiefs of the independent army, were shot, hanged, or exiled, and the prisons were filled with those who awaited their fate. In a letter from Morillo, published in the *Diario Mercantil* of Cadiz, January 6, 1817, he boastingly assures his master, that he had not left alive in the kingdom of New Granada, a single individual of sufficient influence or talent to conduct the revolution.* These sanguinary ministers of royal vengeance gloried in emulating the crimes of the first conquerors of this devoted country.

We must now resume the narrative of the progress of the revolution in the southern provinces. At the time that Figueroa attempted to bring about a counter-revolution in Santiago, the Chilenoes were occupied in choosing members for the first Congress, which assembled in June 1811. Its measures were distin-

* Among those executed at Bogota, were the botanists Dons J. Caldas and Juan Lozano; Don M. Cabal, an eminent chemist; Don C. Torres, highly distinguished for his learning; Don F. Ulloa; the Count de Casa Valencia; and many other learned and estimable individuals. A list, taken from official documents transmitted to the court of Madrid, is given by Mr. Miller, of 135 individuals, who suffered death in different towns of New Granada, without trial, and in violation of amnesties; almost all persons of distinction: among them was D. Miguel Gomez Plata, aged eighty, who was shot, after being tortured three times,—Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 46—50.

guished by liberal policy. The ports were declared open to an unrestricted commerce, with an exception in favour of coarse cloths and flannels; several abuses were reformed; the liberty of the press was proclaimed; and this Congress had the honour to be the first legislative body in Spanish America, which took effectual steps to bring about the gradual but total abolition of slavery within the republic. But the promising aspect of affairs was soon overclouded by intestine discord. A strong discontented party sprang up, at the head of which were three brothers of the name of Carrera, sons of a rich landholder in Santiago.* The disproportionate numbers of deputies chosen for the city and province of Santiago, and the illegality of some of the elections, were the first ostensible grounds of dissatisfaction. To allay the clamour, the Congress reduced the number of deputies representing Santiago to one-half, and countenanced the election of an increased number for Concepcion. But the Carreras were not to be satisfied. Possessed of manners which rendered them favourites with the troops, as well as generally popular, they resolved to wrest the government out of the feeble hands into which it had fallen; and in November, they compelled

* "At this period," says an American writer, "Mr. Poinsett, our present minister in Mexico, was in Chile; and he took an active and responsible part with the Carreras, and is understood to have rendered them much assistance by his counsels and personal services."—Amer. Rev., No. lv. p. 313. Mr. Miller assigns an influential part to a female partisan. The sister of the Carreras, "the Anna Boleyn of Chile," was a powerful instrument, he says, in forwarding their designs. She is described as a woman of splendid natural abilities, but too much addicted to artful intrigues. Was Mr. Poinsett a colleague with the Donna Xaviera? Mrs. Graham does not spare the young "American consul," whose "ignorance, if not cowardice," she affirms to have been of singular disservice to the Carreras.—Graham's Chile, p. 23; Miller, vol. i. p. 112.

the Congress to appoint a new junta of three members, at the head of which was the elder brother, Don José Miguel Carrera. His two brothers, Juan José and Luis, were at the same time officers in the army; and, through various commotions, they maintained their power and influence for nearly three years. Meanwhile, Abascal, viceroy of Peru, who had hitherto affected a desire to maintain a good understanding with the democratic government, was only watching his opportunity; and encouraged by the divided state of parties, he despatched a force under General Pareja, who, early in 1813, disembarked at San Vicente, near Talcahuano, with about 1200 troops, chiefly from the island of Chiloe, and advanced to the river Maule (the boundary between Chile Proper and the province of Concepcion), before the Carreras could take measures to arrest their progress. At length, however, they crossed that river, and, by a bold and skilful movement, fell by surprise upon the royalists at a place called Yerbas Buenas, and routed them. General Pareja retired to San Carlos, about thirty-five leagues from the scene of this action, where he took up an advantageous position, and awaited a second attack. Carrera was unable to break the squares of the royalists, and night suspended the doubtful conflict; but in the morning, the patriots found themselves in possession of the field, the royalists having retreated to Chillan, where Pareja died, it is alleged, of chagrin. He was succeeded by Colonel Sanchez, an able officer, who displayed extraordinary activity in strengthening, by field-works, every point around the town of Chillan. The siege was long and harassing; and when the patriots penetrated at last to the great square, the Spaniards, retiring to a convent, which served them as a citadel, maintained themselves there against all the

efforts of the assailants, till the severity of the weather compelled them to raise the siege.

The popularity of the Carreras had now been succeeded by a very general disgust at their arbitrary and grossly irregular conduct; and during their absence from the capital, their overthrow was quietly carried into effect. Don Henriques Lastra, a man of unimpeachable probity, was chosen Supreme Director of the state; while the command of the army was placed (November 24, 1813) in the hands of Colonel Don Bernardo O'Higgins.* About the same period, José Miguel and Luis Carrera were taken by the royalists, and sent prisoners to Chillan. General O'Higgins found the troops in a state of destitution, the military chest exhausted, and parties were daily deserting. Under these circumstances, he was induced to conclude a convention with the Spanish general Gainza (who had succeeded to Pareja), on the 5th of May, 1814, the terms of which were, that Chile should acknowledge the government established in the Peninsula during the captivity of Ferdinand VII., retaining her Congress and the privileges of free trade; while General Gainza bound himself to re-embark for Peru, with all his troops, within two months. But, while the commissioners repaired to Lima to submit these articles to the Viceroy for his ratification, a new change of affairs placed the Carreras once more at the head of the government.

* "This officer is the son of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno, who sent him early to Europe, where he remained some years, five of which were spent in England at the academy of Mr. Hill, at Richmond, in Surrey."—Graham's Chile, p. 16. Don Ambrosio was a native of Ireland, who served for some time in the English army; he afterwards entered into the service of Spain, and accompanied an expedition to Chile, where his services procured him the rank of brigadier-general, and subsequently higher honours. In 1787, he was appointed Captain-general of Chile, and afterwards Viceroy of Peru.

The escape of the two brothers from Chillan, is said to have been managed by a royalist lady who delivered them from prison, and gave them horses and money to convey them to Santiago. They disguised themselves as peasants, and early in August, arrived at that city; where they went from house to house, and from barrack to barrack, till, having won over the greater part of the garrison, they deposed Lastra, and José Miguel once more became the head of the state. While these things were going on in Chile, the terms of the convention had reached Lima, and Abascal was on the point of signing it, when the regiment of Talavera (700 strong), with the ruffian Marco at its head, arrived from Spain, and volunteered to undertake the subjugation of Chile. On this, the Viceroy changed his determination, and sent a strong body of troops under General Osorio, who landed at Talcahuana on the 12th of August, and immediately marched for Santiago. O'Higgins, who had been indefatigable in raising new troops and introducing something like discipline, hung upon and harassed the march of Osorio, and was on the point of giving him battle in the neighbourhood of San Fernando, when he received a deputation from the capital, entreating his return to deliver them from the oppression and violence of the Carreras. He accordingly left the main body of his army to observe the Spaniards, and marched with 900 men towards Santiago; but, on the plain of Maypo, he was met by Carrera at the head of a superior force, and a partial rencounter took place, in which O'Higgins had the disadvantage. The rival parties were on the eve of a general action, when a messenger arrived from the royalist general; and a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, to receive his despatches. They con-

tained an official intimation, that the Viceroy had refused to ratify the convention, and that the only measure left for the insurgent authorities to secure the royal clemency, was that of surrendering at discretion.

Agitated by conflicting feelings, O'Higgins magnanimously resolved to bury his resentments, and accede to the demands of his rival, that they might turn their arms against the common enemy. Carrera returned to the city, while O'Higgins marched to arrest the advance of the Spaniards, under the promise of being speedily joined and supported by the Santiago forces. He encountered the royalists on the bank of the river Cachapoal; but, having only 900 men, he was compelled to retreat, and took shelter in the town of Rancagua, twenty-three leagues from Santiago, where he caused the entrances of the streets to be blocked up, and made the place as difficult of access as his slender means would admit. On the 1st of October (1814), the royalists commenced an attack, which lasted for thirty-six hours, during which the fire was kept up on both sides with unremitting vigour. Each party hoisted the black flag, and no quarter was given. In the hottest of the action, the magazine of the patriots exploded, and produced the most destructive effects; but, undaunted by this misfortune, the besieged only seemed to redouble their efforts; and Osorio, apprehensive of being attacked by Carrera in rear, had, at one time, resolved to draw off his troops. But, finding that no diversion was made in favour of O'Higgins, and that that brave officer disdained to surrender,* he gave orders for

* "About noon of the second day," says Mrs. Graham, "Osorio sent a deputation to O'Higgins, offering him personal safety, and even royal favour, if he would surrender. This he indignantly

making another grand effort. "By means of the hatchet and the flames, the royalists penetrated through the walls of the houses, and at length fought their way, inch by inch, to the square in the centre of the town. Here, O'Higgins made his last stand with 200 survivors, worn out with fatigue, tormented with raging thirst, and surrounded with heaps of slain; till, observing that all was lost, he, although wounded in the leg, headed the brave relics of his party, and gallantly cut his way through the royalists. Such was the impression produced by this act of desperate valour, that none ventured to pursue the patriots, who continued their retreat to the capital without molestation. The royalists remained in Rancagua, to despatch the wounded, to butcher the few remaining inhabitants, and to destroy what had escaped the flames.

"The Carreras had still under their command 1500 men, but they abandoned the capital without a struggle.* The depredations committed by their

refused, saying, he would not accept even of heaven from the king; and that though he gave quarter, he desired none. In an hour afterwards, the town was on fire in several places. 'They covered us,' said the general, 'with black and red, death and fire. So I took my banner, and I caused them to sew a black stripe across it; and the fire having now reached the very house from which we were fighting, and our ammunition being all expended, we broke through one of the squares that had been formed round our house, sword in hand, and made our way to the capital.'" This account, Mrs. Graham heard from his own lips. "It was upon this occasion that the patriots loaded their guns with dollars."—Graham, p. 26.

* "Carrera hastily gave orders for the demolition of several of the public works, particularly the powder-mills; all the public papers and acts of the new government were burned; and taking with him the remains of the public money, he began a disorderly retreat towards Mendoza on the 1st of October, and Osorio entered the city on the 5th."—Graham, p. 26.

troops, irritated the citizens to such a degree, that a deputation was sent to Osorio, to request him to enter Santiago and re-establish order. Six hundred troops crossed the Andes with Carrera. General O'Higgins emigrated with about 1400 persons, many of whom were ladies of rank, who passed the snowy ridges of the Andes on foot. All were received at Mendoza with generous hospitality.

"In Santiago, Osorio assumed the rank, and exercised the powers of captain-general. His first measure was to proclaim a general amnesty; and some of the more wealthy citizens, who had fled to their estates or to distant parts of the country, returned to the bosom of their families. But, as soon as Osorio felt himself secure, he threw off the mask, and imitated the rest of his countrymen in their violation of the most solemn engagements with the Americans. In less than a month after the disaster of Rancagua, the principal citizens of the capital were arrested. Confiscation and imprisonment were the order of the day; but, fearful of exasperating too far a people who bore the yoke with extreme impatience, the new captain-general had not the courage to shed the blood of his victims. Forty-six fathers of families were sentenced to be transported to the island of Juan Fernandez. Their wives and daughters, clad in deep mourning, besought, with tears and prayers, permission to share the exile of their husbands and fathers; but the tyrant not only turned a deaf ear to their piteous entreaties, but forbade all communication under the severest penalties.* Most of the exiles were in the decline of

* "By the interposition of Sir Thomas Staines of H. M. S. the Briton, one lady, the accomplished Dona Rosario de Rosales, was permitted to follow her father, who was between seventy and eighty years of age. Up to 1813, Juan Fernandez had been the Botany Bay of Chile."

life, some of a very advanced age, and two of them paralytic.....The gaol of Santiago was filled with persons of condition suspected of *infidencia*, or a political bias towards independence. Captain Sambruno, pre-eminent in atrocity among the atrocious Talaverinos, (the two battalions of the regiment of Talavera were composed of the worst characters from the Peninsula,) had been selected by Osorio to fill the office of chief *del tribunal de vigilancia ;* a police appointment which gave him ample opportunities to indulge in passions at once malignant and licentious. Gentlemen were sometimes thrown into prison with threats of immediate execution, 'in order that a beautiful daughter or sister might be the intercessor." The greater part of the immured citizens were inveigled into a pretended plot, which was made the plea for butchering them in cold blood. In short, to detail all the acts of tyranny and cruelty committed by Osorio and his deputy and successor Marco, would, we are told, fill a volume. During the two years and four months of their rule, their barbarity caused more mourning to be worn by the principal families, and spread more ruin and devastation over the country at large, than were occasioned by all the calamities of every other period of the struggle for independence in Chile.*

Thus, in Chile, in the year 1814, as in Venezuela, the cause of Independence seemed to be annihilated, and the struggle had terminated in that worst of all revolutions, a restoration ; in which the recovery of power is always made subservient to the gratification of unbridled revenge, and every ancient abuse is ostentatiously renewed. The dominion of the new captain-general was, however, by no means free from alarms,

* Miller, vol. i, pp. 123—128.

occasioned by intelligence of the warlike preparations of San Martin at Mendoza; and the most arbitrary measures were had recourse to for the purpose of augmenting the royalist army. But the extraordinary boldness and activity of a patriot guerrilla party obliged Osorio to confine his operations to the defence of Chile. "Don Manuel Rodriguez, a barrister, was the son of a distinguished Chileno family, and had latterly been employed with remarkable success as an emissary of San Martin. A price was set upon the head of Rodriguez; but he, without arms, undertook to supply himself by taking them from his enemies, and to produce the necessity of separating the royal army into detachments, and of dispersing them over the country. At the head of a few guerrillas, he entered various towns; proclaimed their independence; took horses from the royalists; and harassed them by every species of hostility in his power. The captain-general was obliged to send strong divisions to distant points, to prevent a general rising. Whenever one of these approached the spot where Rodriguez chanced to be, the roads were lined, and ambuscades were planted by the royalists at every known outlet, to prevent escape. But, well acquainted with the localities, he would order his guerrillas to disperse, and rendezvous at some point distant from any royal garrison, where he would again hoist the standard of independence; again draw upon himself a superior force; and again elude their vigilance. This was the less difficult, as the people every where clamoured for a deliverer. Rodriguez could easily awaken their enthusiasm, and, when overpowered, could safely rely upon their assistance in making his escape. Although the people sometimes suffered severely for these proofs of their attachment, nothing could keep down the spirit of patriotism,

whenever an incident brought it into play. Thus supported, Rodriguez, with all the resources of his ready genius, and with a valour bordering upon rashness, occupied the attention of the royalists, and certainly contributed in a great measure to pave the way for the subsequent successes of the army of the Andes.*

"A diversion was also effected in the south by Commandant Freyre and the intrepid Neira, a guerrilla chief, who took possession of Talca with a small force raised in the province of Concepcion, and composed partly of men who had been expelled from their homes either by the edicts of the captain-general, or by an apprehension of sooner or later becoming his victims."†

In Peru, the attention of the viceroy Abascal had been occupied by the simultaneous rising of the Indians in the provinces of Cuzco, Huamanga, and Arequipa. As the declared object of their leader, Pumacagua, was to establish the independence of the whole country, many Creoles flocked to his standard; but the activity of General Ramirez soon crushed the efforts of these unarmed multitudes.‡ Pumacagua

* This "brave, amiable, and endowed patriot," as Mr. Miller styles him, was, in 1818, (shortly after the battle of Maypo,) imprisoned on suspicion of having planned a conspiracy to overthrow the government. "The officer of an escort belonging to a Buenos-Ayrean regiment, while conducting him to Quillota, barbarously assassinated him, on the plea that he attempted to make his escape. —Miller, vol. i. p. 184. It appears that he was, in fact, a partizan of Carrera's; and it is intimated by a young Irishman of the same desperate faction, that Rodriguez was basely assassinated "because he was a known friend to the *liberties* of his country." Mrs. Graham, who has forgotten her sex in her virulent abuse of San Martin, would insinuate that Rodriguez was murdered by that General s orders.—Graham's Chile, pp. 383, 109.

† Miller, vol. i. pp. 128—130.

‡ Among the patriots who suffered death was a young Arequipeno poet, only twenty years of age, named Melgar, whose fate excited general commiseration. He is styled by Mr. Miller, "the

was among the number of those who suffered; and the terror which was inspired by the numerous executions, produced a calm, which lasted till the arrival of San Martin in 1820. Abascal was superseded in the viceroyalty of Lima by General Pezuela, in July 1816; the latter being succeeded in the command of the army of Upper Peru by La Serna, who arrived from Spain in the September following. Two thousand Spanish troops arrived about the same time by way of Panama. This general, anxious to shew his attainments as a tactician, undertook to conduct an army over-land to Buenos Ayres. At the head of between four and five thousand men, he penetrated as far as Salta, but deemed it prudent to fall back to Jujuy, 14 leagues to the northward on the Potosi road, near the entrance of the Pampas.* He was able to penetrate no further. A few hundred *gauchos,* indifferently armed, some with muskets, others with swords, carbines, or pistols, and not a few with only a long knife and the lasso, here hemmed in about ten times their number of regular troops. These *gauchos* concealed themselves in the forests by day, and at night, frequently issued forth and attacked the royalist quarters or outposts. They were in constant communication with the inhabitants, many of whom would join in the nocturnal surprises, and be found at home by day-light. It was useless for La Serna to send out strong picquets. The royalists lost so many men in this way, without gaining a single advantage, that they were obliged to give

Moore of Peru," being skilled in music as in poetry; and he composed some Yaravi melodies, of which, it is added, the Author of Lalla Rookh might have been proud. A severe disappointment in love, drew from his muse those plaintive *tristes* which are still sung all over the country.—Miller, vol. i. p. 85.

* Jujuy is a straggling place, about half a league in extent, which contained at that time about 3000 souls.

over every attempt to move beyond the out-skirts of the suburbs in pursuit. The manner in which the *gauchos* carried on their operations, is thus described. "They kept men on the highest trees, to watch every movement of the royalists, or to receive communications from friends in the town. Royalists who straggled to a small distance, were invariably cut off. On some of the trees, bells were hung; and tolling them, the *gauchos* would call out to the Spaniards, 'Come, Goths, and hear mass.' From other trees, drums were suspended, on which the call to arms was beaten ever and anon; while, in others, men would be sounding bugles at intervals, both day and night. If the royalists approached, the *gaucho* on the look-out would glide from the branches like a squirrel, vault into the saddle, and, watching a favourable opportunity, level his musket or pistol, fire, and probably bring down a royalist, before he galloped off and dived into the recesses of the forest. All this served to harass and to intimidate the Spaniards to an amazing degree. Numerous desertions took place; supplies were cut off; and even fuel became so scarce, that the rafters and other wood-work of untenanted houses were made use of for the purpose of cooking. La Serna himself was driven to desperation. Foiled, at the very entrance of the Pampas, by a handful of undisciplined but well-mounted *gauchos*, he had the additional mortification of finding all his vaunted plans of conducting the war *en règle*, inapplicable to the country into which he had with so much parade endeavoured to introduce them. He was finally compelled to abandon Jujuy, and retire to Cotagaita, in order to avoid starvation." *

While these revolutions and counter-revolutions

* Miller, vol. i. p. 88.

were desolating the other provinces, the affairs of Buenos Ayres, though embarrassed by endless civil dissensions and internal changes, had proceeded, upon the whole, prosperously. Monte Video surrendered to the Republic in June 1814; Captain Brown, of the Buenos-Ayrean flotilla, having previously destroyed the Spanish naval forces in the harbour. This important fortress was afterwards taken possession of by Artigas, a *gaucho* chieftain, through unaccountable negligence on the part of the Government of Buenos Ayres; and its abandonment to this desperate adventurer was eagerly seized as a pretext by the Brazilian Government for entering the Banda Oriental, and making themselves masters of this long-coveted possession.*

In January 1815, Posadas resigned the supreme directorship, and General Alvear was raised by a faction to the high office; but so unpalatable was the appointment to both the army and the majority of the citizens, that he was soon obliged to resign and flee the country. He was nominally succeeded by General Rondeau, who gave way, in his turn, to D. Ramon Balcarce. He, too, was soon removed; and all parties found it necessary to defer to a sovereign representative assembly, or general constituent congress, which was regularly installed in the city of Tucuman in the month of March 1816. By this national congress, D. Juan Martin de Puerreydon was elected supreme director of the republic; and a solemn Decla-

* See Mod. Trav., Brazil, &c., vol. ii. pp. 319—321. Artigas maintained his hostility against both Brazil and Buenos Ayres for several years afterwards; but at length, having sustained some reverses in the province of Entre-Rios, he sought an asylum in Paraguay, where he was placed under rigid *surveillance* by Dr. Francia. He died at Candalaria in 1826, in the sixtieth year of his age.

ration of Independence was at the same time agreed upon, bearing date July 9, 1816, in which, for the first time, the Republic assumed the style of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. These territories are now distinguished by the appellation of the Argentine Provinces, (in allusion to the name of the Plate or Silver River,) and for the awkward patronymic, Buenos-Ayreans, has been substituted the name of Argentines. From this national act, the political existence of the Republic may properly be dated; and envoys extraordinary were despatched by the Congress to the several courts of Europe, to obtain their acknowledgment of the independence of the emancipated state.

The command of the army was now again conferred on General Belgrano, who displayed great activity in re-organizing and augmenting his forces; but he was subsequently deposed by his own officers, who spread themselves over the provinces in detached parties, each at the head of as many soldiers as he could attach to his interest.* In the mean time, General San Martin, who had held, since September 1814, the command of the province of Cuyo, had, with better

"By such means," says Mr. Miller, "they usurped both the civil and military administration of the provinces, which some have retained till this time. Belgrano, though deficient in military capacity, was deservedly respected as one of the most liberal, humane, disinterested, and honourable men that South America has produced. He was born at Buenos Ayres, of Italian parents, who bequeathed to their children considerable property. He was educated at Salamanca; and on his return from Spain, was appointed secretary to the *consulado* or chamber of commerce. The mildness of his manners, his fondness for music, and taste for the belles lettres, rendered him, in early life, a distinguished member of society. He continued to labour for the welfare of his country to the last with unwearied zeal; and his death, in 1820, was deplored by every class."—Miller, vol. i. p. 83.

success, been collecting and training another body of troops; and having received a small re-inforcement from Buenos Ayres, he was enabled, in the middle of the year 1816, to form at Mendoza (the capital of the province), about 4000 regular troops tolerably well clothed and armed, besides a considerable number of unarmed militia. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his force to the royalist army in Chile, San Martin now determined to make the attempt to liberate that country; and he was the more anxious to commence at once offensive operations, as some symptoms of party spirit had been manifested by two or three chiefs of the army. To deceive Marco, the captain-general, and induce him to divide his forces, San Martin caused a conference to be held with the Indians of Pehuenche, (a territory lying at the eastern foot of the Andes, and extending 120 leagues S. of the river Diamante, the boundary of the province of Cuyo,) for the ostensible purpose of obtaining leave to march through their country; and he sent guerrillas to make demonstrations in that direction, while he prepared to cross the Andes by a different and more arduous route. The known practicable passes, in a length of 140 leagues of the ridge of mountains which wall in Chile, are only six in number. These are, beginning from the north, La Rioja, which debouches into the province of Coquimbo; Los Patos, leading into the valley of Putaendo; Uspallata, into the valley of Aconcagua; El Portillo, into the valley of San Gabriel, near to the capital; Las Damas, into the valley of Colchagua; and El Planchon, into the valley of Talca. It was by the second of these, that San Martin, with the main body of the patriot army, prepared to make his descent upon Chile, while two divisions took the route of the Portillo. As he ex-

pected, the Indians, after being sworn to secrecy, sold their information to the Spaniards; and Marco, putting faith in the intelligence, detached a large portion of his force towards the Planchon.

On the 17th of January, 1817, the patriots broke up their cantonments at Mendoza, and commenced their arduous and enterprising march. Of the difficulties of the passage over this mighty barrier, (arising from the severity of the mountain climate and the want of fuel, as well as from the dangerous paths which are alone practicable,) some idea may be formed from the statement, that, out of 9281 mules and 1600 horses which left Mendoza with the troops, not more than 4300 mules and 500 horses arrived in Chile, in spite of every precaution that the keenest ingenuity could devise. "Five hundred of the militia were told off to convey the howitzers and field-pieces, under the superintendence of the indefatigable Friar Beltran, who, abandoning his cell, became an officer of artillery. Where the ground was comparatively good, each piece of ordnance was carried between two mules, by means of a pole fastened fore and aft to a pack-saddle on each mule; the gun was suspended from the pole, and hung in a horizontal position about two feet from the ground, between the tail of the foremost and the nose of the hindmost mule. Sometimes it was carried on the shoulders, and sometimes in the arms of the militia-men; at other times, it was dragged up and lowered down declivities by means of ropes. The *cabrestante* (a sort of portable capstan) was also occasionally used to assist in raising the gun, or to steady it in the descent. *Sorras*, a sort of narrow sledges constructed of dried bull-hides, were frequently made to serve as carriages. Seven hundred oxen formed a part of the provision for fifteen days. To

provide against starvation in the event of a defeat, provisions were left in *depôt* at about every twelfth league, in charge of a small militia guard.

"Between the town of Mendoza and Chile, five principal ridges run north and south, besides innumerable colossal ramifications. The intense cold on the summits, killed many men. Nearly the whole army was affected, in the course of the march, with the *puna*, or a difficulty of respiration, and numbers died in consequence. Every step the patriots took, convinced the least reflecting, that the obstacles already overcome were of a nature that left no hope that a retreat would be practicable, if they were beaten in the field. But, instead of despondency, a spirit of union pervaded all; and they marched full of confidence, each corps emulating the rest in enduring submission to hardships of no common severity.

"On the 7th of February, 1817, Major Don Enrique Martinez, commanding the advance of the army of the Andes, drove in the Spanish piquet at La Guardia, which suffered some loss. On the 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel Necochea routed, with inferior forces, a body of royalist hussars. Having overcome the first difficulties, in defiles where the natural defences had been strengthened by hastily constructed field-works, the patriots issued from the mountains, and, debouching into the valley of Putaendo, took possession of the towns of Aconcagua and Santa Rosa." *

The royalists, about 4000 strong, with eight pieces of artillery, were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Chacabuco. The *cuesta* or mountain of that name, which is very difficult of access, was occupied by a strong royalist detachment that enfiladed the high

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 106—108, 130.

road leading from Santa Rosa to Santiago. The hostile parties bivouacked on the 10th of February, not far from each other. San Martin had intended to postpone the attack till the arrival of his artillery and spare horses, which were expected to join on the 14th; but, having ascertained that the royalist forces detached to the south, were rapidly counter-marching, he decided upon immediate action. On the 12th of February, he directed the brigade under General O'Higgins to advance in front, while General Soler, with two battalions and some cavalry, made an oblique movement half a league to the right. The commanding officer of the Spanish advanced detachment on the *cuesta*, perceiving his retreat endangered, fell back a league and a half towards the estate of Chacabuco, where he joined the rest of the army, which had formed on the side of a hill with a deep ravine in front. This position was advantageous for repelling an attack along the high road, but was ill adapted for defence against the brigade of Soler. San Martin, continuing his front movement, arrived within range of the enemy at the moment that Soler was half a league distant. Aware of the danger of procrastination with young and enthusiastic troops in the presence of well disciplined foes, San Martin ordered an immediate attack, and O'Higgins placed himself at the head of the infantry. The first effort was unsuccessful, the battalion being repulsed with severe loss. San Martin then charged the enemy's right with two squadrons of cavalry, and the battalions returned to the attack at the same time. At this moment, the head of Soler's columns appeared in sight; and his cavalry came on in time to take part in the last charges, which led to complete success. The Spaniards attempted to rally

in a vineyard, but they were overthrown by a brilliant charge of cavalry, led by Necochea. Six hundred Spaniards were left dead on the field;* the rest dispersed; and the patriots entered Santiago in triumph on the 14th of February. On the 18th, the Captain-General Marco and 3600 royalists had been taken prisoners at various points; 500 escaped by embarking at Valparaiso for Lima; and the rest retired to Talcahuano, on the bay of Concepcion, where they intrenched themselves, and made a successful stand.

A *junta* of government was now formed, and the supreme directorship was offered to San Martin by the grateful Chilenoes; but he declined the dignity in favour of the brave O'Higgins. San Martin, a few days after the victory of Chacabuco, proceeded to Buenos Ayres, to solicit re-inforcements, and to represent the impracticability of raising a forced contribution in the impoverished country. On his return in the following April, he established his head-quarters at Las Tablas, near Valparaiso. Here he was joined, in January 1818, by a young English volunteer of the name of Miller, who afterwards acted a distinguished part in the liberation of Peru.† In the mean time,

* Mr. Caldcleugh, who had his account of the battle from Marco himself, says, 1300 men, including General Marquell; and Marco was made prisoner.—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 29.

† William Miller, born December 2, 1795, at Wingham, in Kent, served in the field-train department of the Royal Artillery, from January 1811, to the peace of 1815. He was present at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and San Sebastian, at the battle of Vittoria, and the investment of Bayonne; he afterwards joined the expedition against Washington and Baltimore. In 1817, tired of inactivity, he resolved to enter the service of the South American patriots; and, as Colombia was overrun with adventurers of all descriptions, he wisely determined to direct his course to Buenos Ayres, where the supreme director, Puerreydon, conferred

the royalists had been strongly recruited by the arrival of veteran troops from Europe, under General Osorio, and being now increased to 6000 effective men, were advancing upon the capital. San Martin, calling in his separated divisions, prepared to give him battle. Having formed a junction with the forces under the Supreme Director, O'Higgins, he found himself at the head of 7000 infantry, 1500 cavalry, 33 field-pieces, and two howitzers.* Ignorant of the numbers and movements of his opponents, the royalist general crossed the Maule, and was proceeding to Santiago, when, on the 18th of March, his van-guard came into contact with the republican advance, and met with a check. Osorio countermarched with precipitation; and the bold and able manœuvres of the republican commander placed him in a situation extremely critical, which was rendered still more disheartening by the unfavourable result of some slight affairs between detached parties. Osorio became panic-struck, and took to his beads; but the energy of his second in command, General Ordonez, had nearly retrieved the fortunes of the royalists, by a well-planned night attack, which threw the patriots into confusion. The dispersion of the left and centre of the line was complete; and had the royalist chief been a man of enterprise and resource, it might have been difficult

upon him a captain's commission in the army of San Martin. To the Memoirs of this individual, written by his brother, Mr. John Miller, we are indebted for the best historical account of the revolutionary struggle; and it will form, in the subsequent pages, our chief authority.

* "The composition of the army of the Andes was good; and although the dress of the soldiers was unsightly, they were well armed, tolerably well disciplined, and very enthusiastic. National airs and hymns to liberty, accompanied by the sound of guitars, were heard throughout the encampment every evening till a late hour."—Miller, vol. i. p. 176.

for them to rally before the capital had fallen Some of the fugitives rode eighty leagues in twenty-six hours, and on the morning of the 21st, spread dismay and confusion through the capital. It was believed, that Osorio might be expected hourly, and despair seized every mind. The arrival of O'Higgins and San Martin at length restored some degree of confidence, and vigorous measures were adopted to make a stand on the plains of Maypo. Happily, the royalists, instead of following up the pursuit, occupied themselves in plundering the baggage found in the patriot position, and then re-entered Talca. The feeble Osorio then followed the patriots at leisure, and did not again come in contact with them until seventeen days after the battle. The valuable interval was well improved by the Supreme Director and San Martin, in re-assembling the fugitives, and re-organizing the army, which now amounted to about 6500 men, including 1000 militia.

On the eventful morning of the memorable 5th of April, 1818, the royalist army, 6000 strong, was discovered at the distance of six miles, approaching by the road leading from the ford of the Maypo to Santiago. About 11 A.M., the royalists had formed nearly parallel with the patriot line, and a brisk cannonade opened on both sides. Shortly afterwards, two patriot battalions charged the Spanish right, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Two battalions of the Spaniards now pressed forward in column ; but, while deploying, they were charged and broken by the patriot reserve under General Don Hilarion de la Quintana, who, supported by the two battalions which had given way, interposed between the Spanish line and its reserve, placed in the rear of the centre of their line. At the same time, some charges of the patriot cavalry,

directed against the Spanish left, made an impression; and in less than an hour from the commencement of the action, the Spaniards gave way at every point. The brave Ordonez rallied, and made a desperate, though fruitless struggle, at the *hacienda* of Espejo, about a league in the rear. Osorio, with about a hundred men, had previously made his escape, and with great difficulty reached Talcahuano in miserable plight. About 2000 royalists were slain, and 3500 were made prisoners. The patriots lost upwards of 1000 in killed and wounded.

During the cannonade, the feelings of the inhabitants of Santiago were wound up to breathless intensity of suspense; and on the news of victory, they found vent in the wildest demonstrations of transport. "People embraced each other, laughed, wept, and shrieked, as if deprived of their senses. Some went literally mad, and one or two of them never recovered their reason. One man dropped down and expired instantaneously. The glorious intelligence overtook a large party of emigrants, principally ladies, on the elevated pass of Uspallata. They were so overjoyed, that they hardly knew whether to proceed or to return. Several were so overcome, that they were left on the mountain with a few attendants, until they found themselves sufficiently composed to resume their journey towards home." *

Five days after this great event, which fixed the destinies of Chile, the victorious General repaired a second time to Buenos Ayres, where he was received with the most enthusiastic admiration. Osorio remained at Talcahuano until the September following, when he destroyed the fortifications, and sailed for

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 185—7.

Callao with all the ships and merchantmen in the port, having on board 300 troops and most of the royalist families who could raise sufficient money to embark. All the remnants of the Spanish party assembled in the city of Los Angelos, or at various posts on the southern side of the river Bio-bio, from which, on the approach of the patriots, they could pass through the territories of friendly Indians to Valdivia and Chiloe. Talcahuano, so recently the scene of commercial and naval bustle, was left silent and deserted. Not a ship, launch, or boat had floated in the bay since Osorio's departure, when, on the 20th of October, a Spanish frigate and a large transport anchored off the port; and in a few days, two other vessels arrived from Cadiz. From the four ships, about 600 troops were landed; a most unlooked for re-inforcement to the slender army which had been left by Osorio under General Sanchez. A short time afterwards arrived the Maria Isabella, a large frigate from Cadiz, bound to Lima, having on board several civil officers of the Lima government, a son of the viceroy, and many military officers of rank, with their families. The four vessels in the port had sailed for Lima on the day of her arrival. After remaining there for a few days, and having obtained every requisite supply, the Maria Isabella prepared to weigh anchor, when two large ships appeared standing for the bay, displaying the patriot flag. They proved to be the San Martin of sixty guns, and the Lautaro of forty-four. After a slight show of resistance from the Maria, the San Martin, having first discharged a broadside, dropped anchor within pistol-shot of the royal frigate; upon which the Spaniards cut their cable and ran their ship on shore. Many of the crew escaped in boats, while numbers jumped over-board,

and swam to the beach.* Immediate possession was taken of the frigate, but it was not got off without great difficulty. On the 1st of November, however, the patriot squadron anchored with their prize between the island of Santa Maria and the main land, in the bay of Concepcion. In the course of a week, seven transports arrived separately, and seeing Spanish colours flying at every mast-head, they obeyed in succession the telegraphic signal to anchor astern of the Maria Isabella. On their dropping anchor, a musket was fired a-head from the commodore's ship, and the patriot ensign was substituted for that of Spain, when a wild cry announced their discovery of their mistake. On the 7th of November, the patriot squadron returned to Valparaiso. Thirteen sail entered the bay, in line, amid the enthusiastic cheers of multitudes upon the beach and the hills. The capture of the convoy was an event of the greatest importance. It prevented the junction of upwards of 2000 Spanish troops with the forces under the command of Sanchez, who might soon have been enabled to threaten Santiago, a considerable portion of the army of the Andes having been detached to the assistance of the Argentine Republic.†

* These particulars are related by a young American who witnessed the transaction from shore, where he was a *detenu*. See "Journal of a Residence in Chili, by a young American." (12mo. Boston, U. S.) We have also an account furnished by General Miller, who was on board the San Martin. After the action, (if such it might be called,) he was sent ashore with a flag of truce, and very narrowly escaped falling a victim to the cold-blooded villany of Sanchez.—See Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 196—200.

† The Spanish expedition had sailed from Cadiz on the 21st of May, with about 2800 men, of whom one-sixth died on the passage, and one-half of the survivors were *hors de combat* from the effects of scurvy. The state of the vessels was filthy in the extreme. On reaching the latitude of the Plata, the troops on board one of the transports had mutinied, and proceeded to Buenos Ayres; by which

Early in 1819, General Balcarce, with 3000 patriot troops, marched against Sanchez, who had augmented his force to 2000 men. Upon the advance of the Independents, the royalist general collected his forces from Concepcion, Chillan, and the island of Laja, and fell back upon the Araucanian territory. In crossing the Bio-bio, he was overtaken, however, by Balcarce, and after losing 600 men in an unsuccessful stand, was compelled to make a precipitate flight. He reached Valdivia with about 900 followers, having obtained permission of the independent caçiques of Arauco to march through their country; which was not accomplished, however, without great difficulties, as well as sacrifices in the shape of extorted presents. Balcarce returned to Santiago,* leaving Colonel Freyre in the military and civil command of the province of Concepcion. But this devoted country was not yet to enjoy repose. To keep alive a hostile feeling against the patriots, the celebrated guerrilla partisan Benavides, with a few desperadoes, was left among the Araucanian tribes; and these bands of freebooters, strengthened by numerous deserters from the Independents, became so formidable, that Colonel Freyre, with 2000 men, was scarcely able to keep them in check. Several strong parties crossed the Bio-bio, to extirpate these marauders, but they always returned after some fighting, without having effected their object. All who fell into the power of Benavides, or the Indians, were mutilated with the most wanton and shocking barbarity; and the inhabitants of all the neighbouring

means the Republican Government came to the knowledge of their instructions, which they lost no time in transmitting overland to the Chilenoes, and the squadron had consequently put to sea in the hope of intercepting them; a hope so triumphantly realized.

* He died there on the 15th of August, 1819. "He was," says Mr. Miller, "an active, upright, and zealous patriot."

estancias were kept in perpetual dread of a visitation from these daring and savage banditti. The capture of Valdivia by the Chileno squadron in 1820, deprived this ruffian of his most important *point d'appui*, and cut off his usual resources; but he was still formidable enough to excite perpetual alarm. He was at length taken, in endeavouring to escape to Peru, and closed his bloody career on the scaffold, in February 1823, amid the execrations of the populace.*

Chile was now free, and the state of affairs in the mother country rendered it improbable that the Spanish Government would be capable of again attempting the re-conquest of her transatlantic colonies. The patriot leaders now, therefore, turned their attention to the liberation of Peru. But, before we enter upon the details relating to this enterprise, we must once more revert to the progress of the revolution in the Colombian provinces.

In April 1816, Bolivar sailed from Kingston with 300 men, and landed at the Isle of Margarita, which had lately thrown off the Spanish yoke. On the 1st

* The life of this desperado is a tale of mingled horror and romance. Born in the province of Concepcion, he served in a Buenos-Ayrean battalion; but being, with his brother, sentenced to death for some crime, he escaped from prison, and passed over to the royalists. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and sentenced to be shot; which sentence was executed, and he was left for dead, having received two balls, besides a deep wound in his throat. He recovered, however, and offered his services to San Martin, on condition of secrecy; they were accepted; and his counsels and information are said to have been of material service to the cause of independence. Unhappily, his secret, which had been necessarily confided to Balcarce, was by him imparted to Freyre, who had the imprudence to tell Benavides, in a private conference, that a man of his species was not to be trusted. Fired at the insult, he disappeared, and speedily commenced a desolating war with fire and sword.—Miller, vol. i. pp. 257—261.

of June, he again embarked, and on the 3d, landed at Campano, where he defeated a Spanish force of 900 men. Here, he opened a communication with the patriot chieftains who had maintained themselves in detached parties dispersed over the plains of Cumana, Barcelona, and the Apure. So completely isolated were several of these parties, that, for many months, they did not know of any besides themselves being in arms for the deliverance of their country. It was only by their coming into accidental contact, that they discovered there was more than one patriot guerrilla in existence. Bolivar supplied some of them with arms, and at the same time augmented his own force to a thousand men. The Spaniards assembled in superior numbers to destroy them; on which, Bolivar re-embarked for Margarita. In 1817, he landed at Barcelona, and, having recruited his little army, marched towards Caracas; but, being worsted in an affair at Clarines, he fell back upon Barcelona, where, shut up with 400 men, he maintained himself against a superior force. Having received some reinforcements from the interior of Cumana, he decided upon making the banks of the Orinoco the theatre of his future efforts. He accordingly marched for the interior, beating several small royalist parties which he encountered on his route. A decisive victory over a division of the Spanish army under General Torres, obtained by the partisan chief, Piar,* enabled Bolivar to invest Angostura and Old Guyana, which towns were successively taken on the 3d and 18th of July. The

* Piar was subsequently found guilty by a court-martial, at Angostura, on a charge of having attempted to excite a war of colour. He was himself a man of colour, "the bravest of the brave, and adored by his followers;" but his execution appears to have been necessary, in order to "stifle anarchy in the bud."

remainder of the year was actively occupied in organizing a force to act against Morillo, who had lately been reinforced by 2000 fresh troops from the Peninsula under General Canterac.

Early in 1818, Bolivar, having concentrated his forces, marched to Calabozo, before Morillo was aware that he had quitted Angostura, and the Spanish General retreated to Aragua. The Supreme Chief (such was now the title of the patriot leader) came up with him at La Usirrael, but could make only a slight impression on the enemy, on account of the strength of his position. Another rencounter took place at Sombrero. Morillo retired to Valencia, and Bolivar took possession of the valleys of Aragua. Thence he detached a strong division to take San Fernando de Apure, in order to complete the conquest of the *Llanos* or Plains. Upon this, the Spaniards advanced, and the two armies met at Semen. Morillo was wounded, and the royalists were put to flight; but, the pursuit being indiscreetly conducted by the patriots, the fortune of the day was changed by the arrival of a fresh royalist division. Each party was alternately defeated, and both rallied their dispersed corps to re-engage at Ortez. The division of the patriot army which had been sent to San Fernando, after capturing that place, had an indecisive affair at Cojedes. Several actions of the same character took place at other points. At the close of this campaign, San Fernando remained in the possession of the patriots, but the Spaniards held Aragua and the most fertile provinces of Venezuela, with the whole of New Granada.

The campaign of 1819 was opened by Bolivar with between four and five thousand men; while Morillo had six or seven thousand. Twelve hundred British troops

had arrived at Margarita to the aid of the patriots from England, and 800 more arrived at Angostura. With these expeditions, large supplies of spare arms also were sent for the Independents. General Urdaneta was appointed to command the British legion in Margarita, which was directed to act on the side of Caracas, in order to draw off the attention of Morillo from the *Llanos*. On the 15th of February, the second Congress of the provinces of Venezuela was installed at Angostura; and Bolivar, having resigned into the hands of this constituent assembly, his authority as supreme chief, was unanimously elected president of the Republic. Early in March, the President rejoined the army, which was much reduced by sickness; but, by adopting a desultory system of warfare, he compelled the Spaniards to re-cross the Apure, after having lost half their original numbers. While Morillo remained in winter quarters, the President traversed the vast plains of the Apure and Casanare, which are rendered almost impassable by inundations from May to the end of August.* In Casanare, he formed a junction with the division of General Santander, 2000 strong. Santander had, from the commencement of the revolution, devoted himself with enthusiasm to the cause of his country. He now expelled the Spaniards from their formidable position of Paya, and opened the way for Bolivar's crossing the Andes. This the President effected, not, however, without the loss of nearly a fourth of his army, who perished from the effects of the cold and excessive fatigue.† On the 11th of July, Bolivar attacked the royalists under General Barreyo, at Gamarra, and compelled him to

* See Colombia, p. 238.

† The *paramo* of Chisba was particularly fatal to the British troops and the natives of the Plains.—See Colombia, p. 273.

retire. On the 25th, by a flank movement, he again brought the Spaniards to action at Bargas, and drove them from their position. Having obtained 1000 recruits, he now marched to interpose between the defeated general and the viceroy Sarnano, who was advancing to his support with all the disposable force south of Bogota. The result of this daring and masterly movement was the decisive battle of Boyaca, fought on the 7th of August, in which the royalists are said to have lost 2000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the latter was the Spanish general, Barreyo, with his staff.* In this action, the English troops under Major Mackintosh greatly distinguished themselves, charging up to the mouths of the enemy's guns, and driving them from the bridge of Boyaca, which protected the right of their position.† The gallant Major was promoted on the field. In three days afterwards, the President entered Bogota in triumph. The viceroy, Sarnano, had fled from the capital with precipitation, with all the garrison and members of Government, leaving behind him in his haste half a million of dollars, much military equipment, and many important state-papers. The capture of the capital was of the utmost importance to Bolivar at this critical period, his little army having suffered exceedingly from long marches, bad living, and much fighting.‡ The results of the victory were

* This general (Mr. Miller writes his name Barrero) was afterwards shot, with thirty-eight other Spanish officers, in the great square at Bogota, together with a turbulent friar who had been active in supporting the Spaniards.—Hamilton's Colombia, vol. i. p. 216.

† See Colombia, p. 279. Another authority gives the 8th of August as the day of this famous victory, which has been styled the birth-day of Colombia.

‡ "Colonel Manby, of the battalion of Albions, which formed

decisive. Within a short period, eleven provinces of New Granada announced their adhesion to the cause of Independence.

Bolivar now repaired to Angostura, where he once more resigned his authority to the assembled representatives of the nation, laying before them the trophies of the last successful campaign. On the 25th of December, 1819, it was decreed by the Congress, at the suggestion of the President, that thenceforth Venezuela and New Granada should form one Federal Republic under the denomination of COLOMBIA. At the same time, it conferred upon Bolivar the title of Liberator of Colombia, and re-elected him President of the Republic.

In March 1820, Bolivar returned to Bogota, where he occupied himself till August, in the organization of the army, which was cantoned at various points between Cucuta * and San Fernando de Apure. Having driven the Spaniards from the provinces of Merida and Truxillo, he established his winter head-quarters at the latter town. On the 25th of November, he concluded an armistice of six months with Morillo, who engaged that, on the renewal of hostilities, the war should be carried on conformably to the practice of civilized nations. Morillo soon afterwards departed for Europe, leaving as his successor in the command of the royal army, the brave General

the advanced guard of Bolivar's army when he entered Bogota, told me, that they had not a pair of shoes or stockings in the whole battalion; the officers wearing *alpargates* (a sort of buskin made of packthread or rushes)."—Hamilton's Colombia, vol. i. p. 217.

* In this town, the first general congress of the united provinces of Colombia was held in 1820. The Constitution of Colombia is dated from Cucuta, August 30, 1821. By a decree of October 8, 1821, its future sittings were transferred to Bogota.

La Torre. Before the armistice had terminated, the province of Maracaybo shook off the Spanish yoke; which being considered by La Torre as an infraction of the truce, hostilities re-commenced. The Liberator, having concentrated his forces in Varinas, detached one division under Urdaneta to the coast, and another under Bermudez to the east, to divide the attention of the enemy, while he marched in person against Caracas. On the 24th of June, 1821, he attacked and defeated the Spaniards at Carabozo. The numbers on each side were nearly equal. This battle decided the fate of Colombia. The victorious Liberator entered Caracas on the 29th. On the 2d of July, La Guayra also surrendered to him. The province of Guayaquil soon after declared its independence, and solicited the aid of the Liberator against the Spaniards in Quito. A division was accordingly sent there under General Sucre, by whom the provinces of Loja and Cuenca were successively liberated; and on the 24th of May 1822, the victory of Pinchincha gave independence to Quito. In the same year, Cartagena and Cumana surrendered to the liberating forces in Venezuela; and the independence of Colombia may be said to have been accomplished.

While Bolivar was thus pursuing his triumphant career in the northern provinces, and San Martin, having established the freedom of Chile, had transferred the seat of war to Peru, the affairs of the Argentine Republic had been thrown into wild disorder by the madness of contending factions. The intrigues of France and Austria to impose upon the Argentines a Bourbon or an Austrian prince, were defeated by the republican party; but the anarchy which prevailed, reduced the state to the brink of

destruction. During the period which elapsed between the deposal and flight of Puerreydon, in November 1819, and the commencement of the year 1821, Buenos Ayres had no fewer than fifteen successive governors; * several of whom retained their office for only a few weeks, and some for a still shorter period. These rapid changes were generally preceded by sanguinary struggles, and were followed by banishments and proscriptions; but in no instance was recourse had to confiscation of property, so far had public opinion wrought an improvement. In March 1820, Ramirez, the chief of the Entre Rios, Lopez, the Governor of Santa Fe, and General Carrera, marched against Buenos Ayres; and D. Manuel Sarratea, the ex-president, became for a short time governor, but was soon displaced. At length, on the 6th of October in the same year, Don Martin Rodriguez, a rich landed proprietor, deservedly popular, was appointed Governor and Captain-general of the province; and the people, wearied out by the harassing effects of varied misrule, seconded his energetic and patriotic efforts to form a settled administration. He prudently chose for his colleagues, individuals who had been in no way connected with the intrigues that had so long distracted the republic. Don Bernardino Rivadavia was appointed secretary for foreign and home affairs, and became the soul of the new government; while D. Francisco Cruz was made secretary

* See a list of these governors and vice-governors in Caldcleugh's Travels, App. No. 18. Puerreydon, says this Traveller, "was a man of gentlemanly manners, but considered lax in his principles, and had further the character of entering largely into the French interests. To complete his downfall in the estimation of the people, a ridiculous plan carried on under his auspices, for placing the young prince of Lucca on the throne of Buenos Ayres, was made public."—Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 230.

for the war department, and D. Manuel Garcia secretary of finance.

Amid the general confusion, the whole of the inland provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from the Central Government; and in several of them, contentions and disturbances arose, which formed a counterpart to the transactions of the capital. The government of Buenos Ayres continued, however, to be, by tacit consent, the only channel of negotiation with foreign powers; and all foreign agents and consuls resided in that city.

One of the first acts of the new administration was, the formation of a constituent provincial *junta* of thirteen members, four for the city and nine for the province, who proceeded to pass several decrees, proposed by the executive, distinguished by an enlightened policy. These laws, which were not merely printed and promulgated, but, unlike most of the previous decrees, carried into effect, provided for the inviolability of persons and property; the oblivion of past political offences; religious toleration; the extinction of the monastic orders; the liberty of the press; the purer administration of justice; and the promotion of education. A university was erected; many schools were established in the city, as well as several in the provinces; and fifty or sixty youths of the first families were sent for education to England, France, or the United States of the North. A bank was also established, which contributed greatly to sustain the public credit, the directors being either native merchants or British residents who had acquired the privilege of citizens. The secretary, D. Santiago Wilde, was an Englishman. A savings' bank was also founded; the few charitable institutions of Buenos Ayres became objects of public

attention; and vaccination was very generally introduced. A civic police was also organized and put into an efficient state. At the same time, in pursuance of a judicious plan of retrenchment, the army was reduced to a few hundred regulars, which, with the militia, were put upon a respectable footing, in order to provide against the incursions of the Indians.* Such officers as were unemployed, and who had served either at home or in Chile and Peru, received a very handsome retired allowance. Privateering was put a stop to; the custom-house was remodelled; smuggling was effectually prohibited; and a new impulse was given to commerce.

After Rodriguez had held the office of President for three years, the period prescribed by the new regulations, he was succeeded by D. Gregorio de las Heras. About the same time, Rivadavia came to England; but the same excellent system of administration continued. The Republic, rising in respectability, was successively recognized by Portugal, the United States of America, and Great Britain. The provinces, which had seceded from the Federal Union, began to manifest a willingness to connect themselves again with the metropolis; and at length, they spontaneously offered to send deputies to represent them in a general congress, which was accordingly installed on the 16th of December, 1824. At this session, it was deter-

* During the anarchy, the Indians had become very formidable to Buenos Ayres and the Creole population throughout the Pampas; and the patriot cavalry parties sent to repel them, had been repeatedly put to flight. Colonel Rauch, a brave German, put a stop to these irruptions, by adopting the plan of forming his men on foot into hollow squares, with their horses in the centre. By keeping up a well-directed fire on the assailants, they were always repulsed; upon which his troops remounting, pursued the fugitives at an advantage with great slaughter.

mined, that, for every 7500 inhabitants, a deputy should be returned, each deputy receiving 2000 dollars annually besides his travelling expenses. As a proof of the increasing prosperity of the Republic, it is stated, that, in the years 1822 to 1825 inclusive, no fewer than 716 houses were built in town and country; and the city of Buenos Ayres, the population of which, in 1817, did not exceed 60,000 souls, contained, in 1826, 100,000 inhabitants.*

It was at this prosperous period, that war broke out between the Republic and the Brazilian Government, occasioned by the long-standing dispute respecting the *Banda Oriental*, or eastern coast of the Plata. During the administration of Rodriguez, the Buenos Ayres Government had in vain demanded the evacuation of the province, in conformity to a condition agreed to by the Court of Rio, that it should be given up as soon as Buenos Ayres should possess a regular and stable government. General Lecor, the governor of Monte Video, having called together the principal inhabitants, obtained from them the declaration of a general wish to continue under the protection of his Most Faithful Majesty. On observing the growing prosperity of the Republic, however, the *Orientales* are represented as having signified their wishes to reunite themselves with Buenos Ayres; nor could the Argentines be expected to behold with indifference the key of the Plata in the hands of the Brazilians. Although the Government foresaw the disastrous consequences of a war, they were obliged to yield to the strong popular feeling, loudly and unanimously expressed. Hostilities were commenced on the

* Miller, vol. ii. ch. 34. Mr. Miers, who complains of the exaggeration of the official accounts, estimates the population of the city in 1825, at only 45,000 souls.—Travels, vol. i. p. 264.

part of the Argentines, in a somewhat irregular manner.

"In 1825, Don Juan Lavalleja, a native of the Banda Oriental, and who had long served with distinction under the brave Artigas, collected a party of thirty-two trusty comrades, principally *Orientales*, and crossed the Plata in an open launch. They disembarked at midnight on the left bank of the river, and, carrying their saddles and bridles with them, proceeded to a *hacienda* well known to them, and procured horses. Without losing a moment of time, they advanced to a place called *El Rincon de las Gallinas*, and, in the night of the 24th September, fell unawares upon a strong Brazilian detachment. This party was commanded by Don Fructoso Rivera, an *Oriental* by birth, but who was now in the Brazilian service. He instantly changed sides; and, with his assistance, Lavalleja, reinforced at every step, was enabled to surprise other strong parties of imperialists. By this time, the news of Lavalleja's arrival spread like wild-fire through the province, and he shortly found himself at the head of 2000 *gauchos*. The *Orientales* rose *en masse*; and the imperialists withdrew to Monte Video and Colonia, the only two fortresses in the province. Two thousand well-appointed Brazilian cavalry were sent out from Monte Video under the orders of Colonel Ventos Gonzales, an officer of reputation, and who, on setting out, promised to annihilate Lavalleja. On the 12th of October, the hostile parties came within sight of each other at La Cuchilla de Sarandi. The Brazilians were well armed, well disciplined, and advanced in the steadiest order. The *gauchos* had only lances and swords. They, anxious to be led on, made a great noise; but Lavalleja, perceiving that the enemy advanced with their carbines

in their hands, ordered his men not to move until the imperialists should have fired, which was to be the signal for the *gauchos* to charge. About sixty of them were killed by the volley; but the rest rushed on before the Brazilians could draw their swords. With the exception of about two hundred, who escaped, the whole of the *Fidalgo* party, as they were called, were killed or taken prisoners. Lavalleja became governor of the Banda Oriental. He convoked a provincial junta, which declared it to be the general wish of the *Orientales* to incorporate themselves with Buenos Ayres; and on the 25th October, 1825, the Banda Oriental was admitted into the Argentine federation. Lavalleja was made brigadier-general.

"On the 10th December, 1825, the Emperor declared war. The Buenos-Ayrean declaration followed, on the 3d of January, 1826." *

Rivadavia returned from Europe in December 1825, bearing the ratified treaty of commerce and amity between Great Britain and the Provinces of the Plata. He was elected president of the Republic on the 7th of February following; and the provincial junta formed under the administration of Rodriguez, having dissolved itself, the affairs of the province were placed under the immediate direction of the executive. General Las Heras, the ex-president, one of the earliest and bravest defenders of the Republic, chagrined at these proceedings, retired to Chile in disgust. The provinces, however, supported the Government, and furnished their contingents for the war with great readiness. Captain Brown, the British officer who had so highly distinguished himself in the taking of Monte Video in 1814, was made admiral of the Argentine

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 411—413.

flotilla, which was soon manned by a number of unemployed seamen of all nations; and even many British settlers, established in small shops, gave up their trades, to serve as volunteers under the intrepid Brown. The admiral performed many brilliant exploits against very superior forces in the outer roads of Buenos Ayres, as well as off Monte Video and in other parts of the river. But what occasioned still greater exultation was, the victory obtained by General Alvear, at Ituzaingo, on the right bank of the Uruguay, in February 1827. Popular, however, as was the war among the restless *gauchos* and other provincials, the Government and citizens of Buenos Ayres would gladly have made peace. Commerce was crippled, and public credit shaken; and the foreign merchants, as well as some wealthy natives, who had speculated in government securities, suffered severe losses. Rivadavia, by the advice, as it is said, of the British Embassy, or yielding to circumstances, was induced to send D. Manuel Garcia to Rio Janeiro, to negotiate a treaty. But the envoy, exceeding his instructions, took upon himself to cede the Banda Oriental to Brazil. The treaty which he concluded, was consequently rejected by Rivadavia, and his rejection of it was approved by the Congress. The public discontents, inflamed, it is alleged, by the intrigues of Garcia's party, rose at length to such a height, that Rivadavia resigned, together with all his ministers; the Congress was dissolved; and the provinces again returned to a state of independence; but they furnished voluntary contingents to assist in carrying on the war.

The government of the city and province of Buenos Ayres now fell into the hands of D. Manuel Dorrego, while the army was commanded by General Lavalleja,

General Dorrego has since been deposed and shot; but the particulars of the revolution we are unable to give.

On the 27th of August, 1828, a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Rio Janeiro between the Republic of the United Provinces and the Emperor of Brazil, which, it is to be hoped, will terminate a contest so fatal to the interests of a commercial state. According to this treaty, the province of Monte Video, at present called the Cisplatine, is to be constituted a free and independent state, under such form of government as it shall deem most suitable to its interests, wants, and resources; and the troops of Brazil were to evacuate the territory within two months from the ratification of the convention; with the exception of 1500 men, who were to remain as a garrison in Monte Video for four months following the installation of the provisional government. This treaty appears to have been effected by the mediation of the British Government.* Its conditions, though ostensibly equitable, are ill adapted to preclude future disputes. It is obvious, that Monte Video, unless in the possession, or under the immediate protection of a neutral European power, must become virtually either a Brazilian dependency, or a province of the Argentine Republic. The interposition of the same powerful mediator, it may, however, be hoped, will prevent a hostile infraction of the treaty; and the Argentines will be wise to renounce all schemes of military conquest or territorial acquisition, as incompatible with their true interests, the stability of their municipal institutions, their commercial prosperity, and even their political independence.

In order to complete our notice of the affairs of this

* Times, December 20, 1828. The plenipotentiaries from Buenos Ayres were, General D. Juan Ramon Balcarce, and D. Tomas Guido.

Republic, which form a sort of episode in the history of the Revolution, we have somewhat anticipated the order of events; and we shall now have to go back to the period at which we left Chile under the patriotic government of General O'Higgins, while San Martin was maturing his plans for the invasion of Peru. In January 1820, apprehensive that the spirit of disunion which then agitated the provinces of the Plata, would extend to the recruits he had been raising in the province of Cuyo, San Martin directed that the whole of the troops should march for Chile. The two cavalry regiments obeyed orders, but the light infantry battalion, 1070 strong, under Colonel Alvarado, mutinied and dispersed. San Martin had no sooner returned to Chile, than he was summoned by the Buenos Ayres Government to recross the Andes with his troops, in order to quell the disturbances which had broken out in the provinces. The General, supported by the unanimous decision of a council of war, declined to obey the order, upon the ground, that his taking any part in the civil dissensions would not only frustrate the projected expedition against Peru, for which the army had been raised, but expose his troops to the contagion of those anarchical principles which had already led to the disbandment of the battalion of *cazadores*. This refusal gave great offence, and San Martin was charged with having withdrawn his allegiance from the General Government; to which he is reported to have returned the answer, that there existed, in fact, at that period, in Buenos Ayres, no legitimate government, the city being ruled by successive factions who alternately displaced each other. From that time, all co-operation on the part of Buenos Ayres was withheld; and not only so, but every effort was made to

lower San Martin in public opinion.* These circumstances will explain the tardy progress of the Independent cause after the decisive victory of Maypo.

But more efficient aid than any that Buenos Ayres could have afforded, had in the mean time arrived from another quarter. After the victory of Chacabuco, San Martin and O'Higgins had directed their deputies in England to procure competent naval officers and seamen; but the passing of the foreign enlistment bill in a great measure prevented their agents from executing their orders. Fortunately for Chile, Lord Cochrane was, however, induced to accept the offer of becoming the admiral of the Chilian navy; and in August 1818, he sailed from England for that purpose. He arrived at Valparaiso in November following, and was received, we are told, with great "enthusiasm," †—especially by the Director; and Admiral Blanco, whose rank and interest were alone likely to be affected by his arrival, welcomed him with generous cordiality. Some British and American naval officers, who had previously arrived and been received into the Chilian service, were, however, less

* Mr. Miller states, that a club called the *Logia*, originally formed for the ostensible purpose of promoting the emancipation of the country, of which San Martin was himself a leading member, now lent its aid to bring him into disrepute by an active system of detraction. This club gradually monopolized the patronage of civil and even military appointments; and to its secret machinations, several of the petty revolutions of this period are attributable. They seem chiefly to have been the result, however, of provincial jealousies; and the bitterest enemies of San Martin were the Carrera faction, who represented his alleged desertion as an act of fraud and cowardice.—See Graham's Chile, p. 387.

† Grand dinners, cricket-matches, balls, races, and pic-nic parties rendered Valparaiso "more than usually gay," and the capital shared in these festivities.—Miller, vol. i. p. 208.

pleased at his Lordship's appointment; and the squadron was for some time agitated by the conflicting parties of Lord Cochrane and a Captain Guise. Nor were these the only circumstances that at this time embarrassed the Government. The treasury had been drained for the support of the army, which was kept together with some difficulty, as well as by the formation of the navy. And its attention had been repeatedly diverted from foreign objects, by the continued machinations of the remnant of the Carrera party.

At length, on the 15th of January, 1819, Lord Cochrane hoisted his flag on board the O'Higgins, forty-eight guns, Captain Forster, and sailed from Valparaiso, with his little squadron; consisting of, besides the flag-ship, the San Martin, Captain Wilkinson; the Lautaro, Captain Guise; and the Chacabuco, Captain Carter. His first operations were directed against the Spanish shipping in Callao bay. The vessels of the little squadron were not, however, in a very efficient state when they left Valparaiso; and during the voyage, the rigging underwent a refit. Owing to this circumstance, they did not arrive in the latitude of Callao until the 16th of February. The first plan of the Admiral was, to take the two Spanish frigates if possible by stratagem, and then to carry the place by surprise; but in this daring scheme, he was foiled by several unforeseen circumstances. "As Lord Cochrane entered the harbour of Callao, a very thick fog came on, of which the other vessels of the squadron took advantage to disobey his orders; and he entered alone towards the anchorage, under the very walls of the battery, the Spanish frigates Esmeralda and Verganza, as well as two brigs of war, being there at anchor. Lord Cochrane opened his fire against

the principal battery; but, this being the day on which the viceroy of Peru made his annual visit of inspection to the forts and vessels of war in Callao, they were well prepared to repel the attack. Pezuela, the viceroy, was himself on board one of the frigates when Lord Cochrane sailed into the harbour. When the O'Higgins entered, the garrison of the forts were all at their guns, and the crews of the ships of war at their respective quarters. Lord Cochrane, therefore, met with a warmer reception than he anticipated, as well from the fortifications, which mounted three hundred and sixty guns, as from the vessels of war, which carried above one hundred guns. To their fire he was exposed for two hours, as the calm did not allow of his retreat. Unsupported as he was against so unequal a force, he returned the fire briskly, and succeeded in destroying an angle of one of the fortifications; but, as the breeze sprung up, he retreated. The Spaniards supposed that the attack was made by the whole Chileno fleet, but, as the fog cleared away, their own frigate, Maria Isabella, was seen to be the only daring aggressor.

"The Spaniards, astounded at the intrepidity and daring courage of their adversary, when informed that it was Lord Cochrane, conferred upon him the title of *El Diablo*, a name by which he was afterwards well known among them. From the habitual carelessness of the Spaniards, and the masterly style in which Lord Cochrane succeeded in silencing the main battery, it was the general opinion, that, had this attack been made on any other day of the year, and had he been seconded by the other vessels as he ought to have been, he would have succeeded in taking the place by storm; and of this the viceroy seemed fully aware, as

he lost no time in instantly dismantling his ships of war, lashing their spars and masts together, so as to form a double boom round the anchorage, to prevent all approach to it and to the batteries. Lord Cochrane contrived to blockade the harbour, occasionally endeavouring to entice the Spanish vessels to come out and fight him, but all to no purpose: they had wisely determined to act on the defensive.

"Lord Cochrane sailed in the O'Higgins at different periods along the coast, for the purpose of compelling the Spanish authorities to furnish his ships with provisions. On being refused supplies, he marched with part of his crew into the country, and took the towns of Payta, Supé, Guambacho, Guaruney, and other places, capturing Spanish property alone, and respecting that of the Creoles; striking terror into his enemies, and yet, from the mildness of his conduct, gaining many friends among the natives; which was afterwards of great importance when the country was invaded by the Chileno army under San Martin, and this part of the country became the principal field of operation of the invading army. In making these descents, the Admiral ascertained that the greater portion of the people were favourable to the cause of liberty, and desirous of throwing off the Spanish yoke.

"During his operations along the coast, Admiral Blanco was left with the remainder of the fleet to maintain the blockade of Callao. Lord Cochrane at length returned, with the intention of attacking the forts and ships in the harbour with the whole of his force; but, on reaching Callao, he found that Admiral Blanco had raised the blockade, and sailed to Valparaiso. On his arrival at Valparaiso, Blanco was put under arrest by the Government, and ordered

for trial. On the return of Lord Cochrane, a court-martial was held, by which he was honourably acquitted." *

"Lord Cochrane had taken with him from England, a skilful practical workman, as well as the machinery requisite for the preparation of Congreve rockets; but, on his return from his first cruize, he found that the Government, with the dilatoriness which he now discovered was inseparable from the Chileno character, had done but little towards their manufacture. After waiting three months in port, a sufficient number of rockets were prepared, and trials were made of their power, when it was found that their ranges were equal to those of the English Congreve rockets. Lord Cochrane obtained two merchant-vessels with a portion of combustibles, destined for fire-ships; and he now urged the Government to send with him a body of a thousand men, pledging himself to capture the castles of Callao, and either to take or destroy the Spanish shipping in the harbour. This force, the constituted authorities undertook to provide; but on this, as on all other occasions, they broke their promise. On leaving Valparaiso, on his second expedition to Peru, he was told, that the troops were waiting for him at Coquimbo. The minister of marine had impressed upon the Admiral, in the strongest terms, the necessity of carrying on the most active warfare among the Spaniards; but, anxious as he was on this point, his extreme jealousy, in which he was countenanced by too many of his countrymen, prevented him from

* Miers, vol. ii. pp. 21—23. Blanco had been obliged to raise the blockade for want of provisions. We have adopted Mr. Miers's brief account of these transactions, which are more minutely detailed by Mr. Miller, vol. i. pp. 211—222, and by Mrs. Graham, pp. 43—48.

trusting, as he ought to have done, to an officer of such acknowledged talent, merely because he was a foreigner. It will appear strange, but not less strange than true, that Lord Cochrane, who had urged the necessity of expedition and secrecy, was told the nature of his secret orders by a native officer under his command, three days before he received them. He was so mortified, as to hesitate whether or not to throw up his commission; but his ardour, his expectation of the effect of the rockets, and the confidence in the military assistance he was promised, induced him to proceed.

"He sailed from Valparaiso on the 12th of September, 1819; and on arriving at Coquimbo, instead of a thousand men, the Admiral found only ninety soldiers ready. Having made up his mind to the enterprise, this disappointment did not damp his ardour. He proceeded on his voyage, and arrived before Callao. On the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th of October, he made trial of the rockets. On these occasions, they failed wholly of success, owing to two or three causes, both resulting from bad preparation. There could not be found in all Chile, sufficient borax or spelter to solder the iron cylinders; and there was no alternative left, but to use bell-metal solder, which made the joints so insecure, as to burst by the expansive force of the rocket. The Chile Government, to save expense of labour, had employed Spanish prisoners to fill the rockets, who threw in at intervals, unobserved, layers of earth, which impeded the progress of the combustion, and of course destroyed their power. The fireship, which was sent in on the 5th of October, also failed of success. Under these disappointments, Lord Cochrane would have proceeded to attack the Spanish squadron at anchor in Callao, but, on referring to his instructions, he found his orders restricted him. By

these instructions, he was peremptorily commanded not to approach with his ships within range of the enemy's batteries; not to do this, or that; in short, he was to make no attempt upon the enemy's squadron, except by means of rockets and fire-ships, and to return to Chile within a certain time.*

"Lord Cochrane did not receive the necessary supplies for the use of his ships, which the Government promised to send him; he was, therefore, induced to proceed to Pisco to procure provisions; but,

* No mention of any such restrictions is made in Mr. Miller's narrative; but some circumstances are added, which Mr. Miers either was not told, or has suppressed. "On the 30th," says the former Writer, "the squadron stood into the bay of Callao. The O'Higgins hoisted a flag of truce, and Cochrane sent a boat ashore with a letter to the viceroy, challenging him to send out as many ships as he chose, and the Admiral would fight them ship for ship, and gun for gun. This proposal, of very questionable propriety, met with the laconic answer which might have been expected. The equally useless measure of sending a rocket in the boat, to exhibit to the royalists, made an impression very different from what was intended."—Miller, vol. i. p. 230. Major Miller, this Writer's brother, was the second in command of the troops, and must, one would think, have been aware of the reasons of Lord Cochrane's conduct. If he was really laid under the alleged restrictions, (which he was not likely scrupulously to regard,) it may in part account for his absurd challenge to the Viceroy; but, otherwise, his conduct would seem to shew that such restrictions were not wholly uncalled for or unreasonable. The total failure of both the rocket attacks, as well as of the fire-ships, is mentioned by Mr. Miller. Mrs. Graham represents the Admiral as attempting to weary out the enemy by "several false attacks!" At length, "the Admiral," says Mr. Miller, "considering that the Spanish shipping *could not be destroyed without risking the existence of the patriot squadron*, decided upon a different plan of operations. On the evening of the 7th of October, the squadron weighed with the intention of going to Arica; but some of the ships were such dull sailors, that, after beating for three weeks to windward, and against the current, Cochrane determined upon landing the marines at Pisco, for the purpose of procuring *brandy* for the use of his squadron."—Miller, vol. i. p. 234.

hearing that two line-of-battle ships and a frigate had arrived at Arica from Spain, he resolved at once to proceed in search of them. On his arrival there, he was disappointed at not finding them. He therefore sent the Galvarino and Lautaro, with his soldiers and marines, under command of the gallant Colonel Charles and the heroic Major Miller, to Pisco, while he proceeded to Callao in quest of the Spanish ships, which he concluded had made for that harbour. The troops were landed before Pisco, where they were warmly received; they succeeded in capturing the place, though the victory was too dearly purchased by the death of the intrepid Colonel Charles, and by the severe wounding of Major Miller. After obtaining the stores wanted, the vessels rejoined the squadron off Callao. Upon their arrival, a singular event took place. The Spanish frigate Prueba, one of the vessels Lord Cochrane was in search of, appeared off Callao, but he mistook it for a whaler. Next morning, he saw her again, and gave chase, but she escaped in the night. The Europe line-of-battle ship, which formed one of the Spanish expedition in crossing the line, was pronounced not to be sea-worthy for the voyage. The St. Elmo, another line-of-battle ship, foundered off Cape Horn during the passage; and the Prueba frigate alone reached the Pacific in safety. On her arrival off Callao, finding that port blockaded, a boat was sent on shore with the despatches for the Vice-roy; and on his return from the chase, Lord Cochrane fell in with and captured the boat on her return to the vessel, from the crew of which he learned that the ship he had chased was the Prueba frigate.

"The seamen of the squadron were now become infected by an epidemic complaint introduced on board by the troops taken from Coquimbo. Lord Cochrane

despatched the San Martin, Independencia, Araucano, and a transport filled with sick, to Valparaiso, while, in company with the Lautaro and Puyrredon, he went in quest of the Prueba to Guayaquil, whither he concluded she had sailed. On his arrival at Puna, he proceeded up the river Guayaquil, *without a pilot*, and by night, a thing never before attempted on account of its difficult navigation. Here he captured two large armed merchant-men, the Aquila, of 900 tons and 32 guns, and the Begoña, of 600 tons and 26 guns, both laden with timber destined for Lima. On the approach of the Admiral, the Prueba frigate threw her guns and stores overboard, struck her rigging, and, thus lightened, ascended the river beyond the possible reach of the O'Higgins. Finding further pursuit hopeless, Lord Cochrane left Guayaquil on the 21st of December, and sailed for Chile, committing the prizes to the command of the other vessels, while he alone, in the O'Higgins, proceeded to reconnoitre Valdivia. His object was, if possible, to achieve something worthy of his reputation, that should counteract the disappointment consequent upon the want of success in the present cruize. Off Valdivia, he took the Potrillo Spanish brig of war; and in the O'Higgins alone, stood into the port of Valdivia, under Spanish colours, where he remained some time reconnoitring the place. The Spaniards mistook the frigate for the long-expected Prueba, and did not offer to disturb him, till they found the boat sent to him detained. From these people, he derived what further information he required, and retiring from the heavy fire of the fortresses, he sailed away, confident of the practicability of carrying this place, which, from its great strength, no one but himself would have attempted with his small force. He sailed, however, to

Concepcion, to obtain a succour from the commander of that place, Colonel Freyre, (subsequently the Supreme Director of Chile,) from whom he promptly received more co-operation and more succour than the Government would have afforded him." *

For an account of this daring and successful achievement, undertaken with a leaky frigate, a brig of war, and a schooner, we shall avail ourselves of Mr. Miller's narrative. Freyre having granted the Admiral a re-inforcement of 250 men, commanded by Major Beauchef, they embarked in the frigate O'Higgins, the Montezuma schooner, and the brig of war Intrepido, belonging to Buenos Ayres. "All got under weigh on the 25th of January, with a light contrary wind. At night, it fell calm. The officer of the watch,† leaving the deck, gave the O'Higgins in charge to a midshipman, who, falling asleep, neglected to report when a breeze sprang up. Upon passing the island of Quiriquina, the ship struck upon the sharp edge of a rock, and was suspended amidship on her keel. She shook in a manner to produce the greatest alarm; for, had the swell increased, she must have gone to pieces. Cochrane, preserving his customary *sang-froid*, ordered out the kedges, superintended every thing himself, and at length got the ship off. When the ship was out of danger, some of the officers suggested, that she should be examined. A

* Miers, vol. ii. pp. 24—28.

† "Lord Cochrane," Mr. Miers tells us, "had only two officers on board his ship, and they were lieutenants; one of these was under arrest for gross disobedience of orders, and the other was utterly incapable of performing the requisite duty of a lieutenant. Lord Cochrane was therefore compelled to perform the several duties of captain and lieutenant, and to take turn in the watch with his only officer. Scarcely had he left the deck, when the lieutenant quitted his post."—Miers, vol. i. p. 493.

stern negative was the answer of the Admiral, who, turning to Miller, said, 'Well, Major, Valdivia we must take. Sooner than put back, it would be better that we all went to the bottom.' In fact, his Lordship felt keenly his disappointment before Callao. He was aware that his enemies in Chile would raise a clamour if he returned without doing something decisive; and he had made up his mind to run every risk in order to grasp a redeeming laurel. The officers participated in the same adventurous spirit, and hailed with satisfaction a determination likely to retrieve the credit of the navy, and to make former discomfitures forgotten. The Admiral was so resolutely bent upon pursuing his course, that it was not until sunset on the 26th, that he would receive the first report of '*five feet water in the hold.*' The ship was then thirty miles from land. The pumps were found to be so much out of order that they could not be worked. At eight o'clock, seven feet was reported. The carpenter, who was a very indifferent mechanic, failed in his efforts to put the pumps in order. The water, though baled out with buckets, still continued to gain upon them. The powder-magazine was inundated, and the ammunition of every description was rendered totally unserviceable, excepting the cartridges in the cartouch-boxes of the soldiers.

"Notwithstanding it was a dead calm, the swell was considerable, and the brig and schooner were out of sight. Of 600 men on board the frigate, not more than 160 could have escaped in the boats. The inhospitable coast of Arauco was forty miles distant; and to land there, would have been worse than death. The vindictive character of the Araucanians was well known, and to those who saw no hope of keeping the ship afloat till morning, the alternative was terrific.

Alarm and despair were depicted in the countenances of most on board. But Cochrane, still undismayed, pulled off his coat, tucked up his shirt-sleeves, and succeeded by midnight in putting two of the pumps in a serviceable state. By his indefatigable activity and skill, the frigate was prevented from sinking; and by the serenity and firmness of his conduct, he checked a general disposition to abandon the ship. The leak was happily prevented from gaining. The schooner and brig rejoined in the morning, and the vessels arrived in the latitude of Valdivia on the 2d of February. When about thirty miles from land, the troops in the frigate were removed to the schooner Montezuma and the brig Intrepido, in a high sea. Lord Cochrane shifted his flag to the schooner, leaving the frigate to stand off and on, out of sight of land, to avoid exciting the suspicions of the Spaniards on shore. There was, however, so little wind, that all hopes of effecting a landing that night vanished. The brig and the schooner made what way they could for the port, in the hope of taking the royalists by surprise.

"The noble harbour of Valdivia, situated in 39° 50′ south latitude, and 73° 28′ west longitude, forms a capacious basin, bordered by a lofty and impenetrable forest, advancing to the water's edge. It is encircled by a chain of forts, which are so placed as not only to defend the entrance, but to enfilade every part of the harbour. These forts are: Niebla on the east, and Amargos on the west, completely commanding the entrance, which is only three-fourths of a mile in width. Corral, Chorocomayo, San Carlos, and El Yngles, are on the west side; Manzanera, on an island near the eastern extremity or bottom of the harbour; and El Piojo and Carbonero are on the east side. These different forts were mounted with 118 pieces of

ordnance, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, each fort having a deep ditch and a rampart where they were not washed by the sea, excepting El Yngles, which had merely a rampart faced with palisades. They were manned by a force which, according to the muster-rolls of the preceding month, consisted of 780 regulars and 829 militia. The greater part of the latter were stationed at Osorno, thirty leagues towards the straits of Magellan, and the remainder at the town of Valdivia, fourteen miles up the river. So impervious is the forest, from the ravines by which it is intersected, and from its entangled underwood, that there is no land communication between the forts, excepting by a narrow, rugged path, which, winding between the rocky beach and the forest, scarcely at any point admits of the passage of more than one man at a time. Even this path, in crossing a deep ravine between forts Chorocomayo and Corral, was enfiladed by three guns, placed on the crest of the opposite acclivity.

"About a quarter of a mile beyond the fort of San Carlos, along the southern shore of the bay, and outside of the harbour, is situated the exterior fort of El Yngles; and half a mile westward of the fort is the *caleta*, or inlet, which forms a landing-place; both of which communicate with each other, and with San Carlos, by a path equally narrow, rugged, and serpentine as that between the other forts.

"The schooner and the brig, having hoisted Spanish colours, anchored on the 3d of February, at 3 P.M., under the guns of the fort of El Yngles, opposite the *caleta*, or landing-place, and between the two. When hailed from the shore, Captain Basques, a Spaniard by birth, who had embarked at Talcahuano as a volunteer, was directed to answer that they had sailed

from Cadiz with the St. Elmo of seventy-four guns, from whose convoy, he added, they had parted in a gale of wind off Cape Horn, and requested a pilot might be sent off. At this time, the swell was so great as to render an immediate disembarkation impracticable, as the launches would have drifted under the fort. Lord Cochrane's object, therefore, was to wait until the evening, when the wind would have abated, and the swell have subsided. The Spaniards, who had already begun to entertain suspicions, ordered the vessels to send a boat ashore; to which it was answered, they had lost them in the severe gales they had encountered. This, however, did not satisfy the garrison, which immediately fired alarm-guns, and expresses were despatched to the governor at Valdivia. The garrisons of all the southern forts united at Fort Ynigles. Fifty or sixty men were posted on the rampart commanding the approach from the *caleta*. The rest, about 300, formed on a small esplanade in the rear of the fort. Whilst this was passing, the vessels remained unmolested; but, at four o'clock, one of the launches, which had been carefully concealed from the view of those on shore, by being kept close under the off-side of the vessel, unfortunately drifted astern. Before it could be hauled out of sight again, it was perceived by the garrison, who, having no longer any doubts as to the hostile nature of the visit, immediately opened a fire upon the vessels, and sent a party of seventy-five men to defend the landing-place. This detachment was accurately counted by those on board, as it proceeded one by one along the narrow and difficult path to the *caleta*. The first shots fired from the fort having passed through the sides of the brig, and killed two men, the troops were ordered up from below, and to land without further delay.

But the two launches, which constituted the only means of disembarkation, appeared very inadequate for the effectual performance of such an attempt. Major Miller, with forty-four marines, pushed off in the first launch. After overcoming the difficulties of the heavy swell, an accumulation of sea-weed, in comparatively smooth water, loaded the oars at every stroke, and impeded the progress of the assailants, who now began to suffer from the effects of a brisk fire from the party stationed at the landing-place. Amongst others, the coxswain was wounded, upon which Major Miller took the helm. He seated himself on a spare oar, but, finding the seat inconvenient, he had the oar removed, by which he somewhat lowered his position. He had scarcely done so, when a ball passed through his hat, and grazed the crown of his head. He ordered a few of his party to fire, and soon after jumped on shore with his marines; dislodged the royalists at the inlet; and made good his footing. So soon as the landing was perceived to have been effected, the party in the second launch pushed off from the brig, and in less than an hour, three hundred and fifty patriot soldiers were disembarked. Shortly after sunset, they advanced in single files along the rocky track leading to Fort El Yngles, rendered slippery by the spray of the surf, which dashed with deafening noise upon the shore. This noise was favourable, rather than otherwise to the adventurous party. The royalist detachment, after being driven from the landing-place, retreated along this path, and entered Fort Yngles by a ladder, which was drawn up, and consequently, the patriots found nobody on the *outside* to oppose their approach. The men advanced gallantly to the attack; but, from the nature of the track, in very extended order. The leading files were

soldiers whose courage had been before proved, and who, enjoying amongst their comrades a degree of deference and respect, claimed the foremost post in danger. They advanced with firm but noiseless step; and while those who next followed, cheered with cries of '*adelante!*' (onwards!) others still further behind raised clamorous shouts of '*Viva la patria!*' and many of them fired into the air. The path led to the salient angle of the fort, which on one side was washed by the sea, and on the other side flanked by the forest, the boughs and branches of which overhang a considerable space of the rampart. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and by the intermingling roar of artillery and musketry, by the lashings of the surge, and by the clamour of the garrison itself, a few men, under the gallant Ensign Vidal, crept under the inland flank of the fort; and whilst the fire of the garrison was solely directed to the noisy patriots in the rear, those in advance contrived, without being heard or perceived, to tear up some loosened palisades, with which they constructed a rude scaling-ladder, one end of which they placed against the rampart, and the other upon a mound of earth which favoured the design. By the assistance of this ladder, Ensign Vidal and his party mounted the rampart; got unperceived into the fort; and formed under cover of the branches of the trees which overhung that flank. The fifty or sixty men who composed the garrison, were occupied in firing upon those of the assailants still approaching in single files. A volley from Vidal's party, which had thus taken the Spaniards in flank, followed by a rush, and accompanied by the terrific Indian yell, which was echoed by the reverberating valleys of the mountains around, produced terror and immediate flight. The panic was communicated to the column of

300 men, formed on an arena behind the fort; and the whole body, with the exception of those who were bayoneted, made the best of their way along the path that led to the other forts, but which, in their confusion, they did not attempt to occupy or defend. Upon arriving at the gorge of a ravine, between Fort Chorocomayo and the castle of Corral, about 100 men escaped in boats that were lying there, and rowed to Valdivia. The remainder, about 200 men, neglecting the three guns on the height, which, if properly defended, would have effectually checked the advance of their pursuers, retreated into the Corral. This castle, however, was almost immediately stormed by the victorious patriots, who, favoured by a part of the rampart which had crumbled down and partly filled up the ditch, rushed forward, and thus obtained possession of all the western side of the harbour. The royalists could retreat no further, for there the land communication ended. One hundred Spaniards were bayoneted, and about the same number, exclusive of officers, were made prisoners. Such was the rapidity with which the patriots followed up their success, that the royalists had not time to destroy their military stores, or even to spike a gun. Daylight of the 4th found the Independents in possession of the five forts, El Yngles, San Carlos, Amargos, Chorocomayo, and Corral.

"On the morning of the 4th, the schooner and brig entered the harbour, and anchored under the castle of Corral, after receiving a few shots from the forts on the northern side, still in the possession of the Spaniards. In order to dislodge them, 200 men embarked in the brig and schooner: the latter ran aground in crossing the harbour, but soon got off again. The Spaniards, however, alarmed at the movement, aban-

doned the castle of Niebla, Fort Carbonero, Piojo, and Manzanera. The patriots, not less surprised than pleased, found themselves, without further opposition, masters of what may be called the Gibraltar of South America. In the evening, the O'Higgins entered the port, almost water-logged, and, to keep her from sinking, she was run aground on a muddy bottom, for the purpose of undergoing a repair.

"On the 5th, Majors Beauchef and Miller proceeded up the river with Lord Cochrane, who took possession of the town of Valdivia, at the head of 200 of the troops. The enemy, 500 in number, had abandoned it in the morning, and had fled towards Osorno, to cross the water to Chiloe. On deserting the town, the Spaniards plundered and committed great disorders. The governor, Colonel Montoya, was the first to make his escape. His age and infirmities must have incapacitated him for command, or he ought to have made a stand against such an inferior force. The Admiral issued a proclamation, which induced many of the inhabitants, who had fled from the town on the approach of the patriots, to return to their homes.

"Amongst the public property taken at Valdivia, were some silver ornaments and vessels, of which General Sanchez had stripped the churches of Concepcion. This booty was valued, at the time, at from 12 to 16,000 dollars. There was, besides, a *custodio* inlaid with gold and set with gems. A ship called the *Dolores*, anchored off the Corral, and taken by the soldiers in the night of the 3d, was sold by the prize-agent at Valparaiso for about 20,000 dollars. A quantity of sugar, spirits, and other articles were taken and disposed of in like manner, for nearly the same sum. The foregoing statement does not include

a claim made by Lord Cochrane on account of captured ordnance. The *el dorado* views, however, founded on the capture of Valdivia, all fell to the ground. Neither Major Miller, nor any officer or soldier of his corps, ever received prize money on that account." *

Lord Cochrane's next attempt was upon the Island of Chiloe, the largest of an archipelago of seventy-two islands, stretching along the inhospitable coast between Valdivia and the Straits of Magellan. The navigation is very intricate and dangerous, on account of eddies, currents, and whirlpools; and a tremendous surf renders the coast almost everywhere unapproachable. The population of the island is loosely estimated at 34,000, who, in point of civilization, are but one

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 242—254. The Admiral's loss, according to Mr. Miers, was only seven men killed, and nineteen wounded; that of the enemy, three officers and ten soldiers killed, and twenty-one wounded. In the forts were captured, besides Colonel Hoyos, the Commander, five commissioned officers and seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates. The military stores that fell into their hands, were considerable. "Lord Cochrane, on his return, instead of being hailed by the Government for the services he had rendered, was annoyed by every possible vexation, the minister of war declaring that, instead of reward, he deserved to have lost his life in the enterprise, as it was the act of a madman. He did not even receive a public acknowledgement of thanks for this brilliant exploit, till, for his own indemnification in having acted without orders, and for the satisfaction of the officers and men serving under him, he was obliged, after a long delay, to solicit the boon; and even then, the payment of prize money for the stores taken in the fortresses, was actually refused to the victors."—Miers, vol. i. p. 493. The language attributed to the Chilian minister, his Lordship could not wonder at, since he observed himself to Major Miller before the action: "Cool calculation would make it appear that the attempt to take Valdivia is madness."—Miller, vol. i. p. 243. As to the Chilian Government, he appears to have acted in utter disregard of its orders, and to have created disgust by his reckless and independent proceedings.

remove from the Araucanians. The Spaniards had here a very strong position; and Quintillana, the governor, apprised of Cochrane's intentions, instantly made preparations for defence. On the 17th of February, 1820, however, Major Miller effected a landing, and put to flight a detachment of the garrison. Fort Corona and a battery were carried without loss; but, on advancing to storm Fort Aguy, the principal defence, the assailants were exposed to a shower of grape and musketry, which mowed down thirty-eight men out of the sixty which composed Miller's company, their commander being among the wounded. A retreat was, of course, all that was left for the survivors; and Lord Cochrane was obliged to satisfy himself with having ascertained by this costly "reconnoitre," that there was safe anchorage in the port, and that Chiloe "was at the mercy of five hundred men whenever it should please the Government of Chile to incorporate it with the cause of liberty and independence."*

During these events, San Martin was indefatigably occupied in recruiting his army; but financial and other difficulties attended the equipping and fitting out of the expedition destined to act against Peru, which occasioned a delay of several months. At length, in August, the Liberating Army assembled at Valparaiso; and on the 21st, the whole sailed for Peru in hired transports, under convoy of the Chileno fleet. The total number (including the men afterwards taken on board at Coquimbo) did not exceed 4500 soldiers, with twelve pieces of artillery; while the royalist forces in Callao and Lima amounted to 7815 regulars, and the

* Graham, p. 61. Miller, vol. i. p. 262. In the Admiral's letter, he reduces the loss to four killed and ten wounded. Mr. Miller says, twenty were killed on the spot, and most of the others were mortally wounded.

total force in Peru, according to the official report of the viceroy, was 23,000 men. But San Martin had calculated upon the support of public opinion as his best auxiliary; and in undertaking the liberation of the Peruvians, he did not design the conquest of their country. This will explain his cautious policy, which soon involved him in serious misunderstandings with the Admiral, who was for carrying the capital, and effecting the whole business, by a *coup de main*. Notwithstanding the numerical weakness of the expedition, it was, under all the circumstances, a mighty as well as daring effort on the part of an infant state, especially considering the exhausted state of its resources. "It was, in truth," says Mr. Miller, "an imposing and exciting spectacle, to behold that bay crowded with shipping, under patriot banners, which formerly received only one merchant-vessel annually. The population of the capital and of the country had poured into Valparaiso, and every avenue was crowded with spectators. Many females who had shared the fortunes of other campaigns, were now unavoidably left behind; and their farewell ejaculations, accompanied by the weeping of children, gave a deep and distressing interest to the busy scene."

On the 8th of September, a landing was effected, without opposition, near Pisco. The town was abandoned by the Spanish garrison at the approach of the patriots; and on the 13th, San Martin established there his head-quarters. On the 22d, Colonel Alvarado advanced, and took possession of the two villages of Upper and Lower Chincha. The Marquess of San Miguel, who possessed large estates in that neighbourhood, joined the patriots, and was appointed aid-de-camp to the general-in-chief. On the 28th, at the request of the viceroy, Pezuela, a suspension of arms

for eight days was agreed upon, and the commissioners of both parties held a conference at Miraflores, near Lima, for the purpose of adjusting a pacification on the basis of the independence of Peru; but, as the Viceroy would not accede to the proposed terms,* hostilities recommenced at the expiration of the truce. On the 5th of October, General Arenales marched from Pisco, with two patriot battalions and some cavalry, and entered Ica, where they were received by the inhabitants with every expression of satisfaction; and two companies of the militia, with their officers, passed over to Arenales. The rest of the royalist troops abandoned Ica, and were pursued by a detachment of the patriot cavalry, who succeeded in surprising them, and making about 100 prisoners; 300 muskets, with a number of swords and lances, fell into their hands. At Nasca, information was obtained from the inhabitants, that a hundred mules, laden with military stores carried away from Ica, were still at Acari, thirty leagues to the southward. A party of cavalry were consequently detached thither, who were fortunate enough to capture the whole convoy. On the 20th, the division of General Arenales marched from Ica for the interior, leaving a detachment to retain possession of that province. The remainder of the liberating force re-embarked at Pisco on the 25th; and on the 29th, the squadron anchored in the bay of Callao. The transports, under convoy of the San Martin, sailed to the little bay of Ancon, a few leagues to the north of Lima, where some troops were landed for the purpose of reconnoitring the country. They had a skirmish with the royalists near Chancay, but retired before superior numbers, and re-embarked.

In the mean time, Lord Cochrane had planned the

* See Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 71.

cutting out of the Esmeralda, and was busily employed in making preparations for this daring enterprise. The Spanish frigate was protected by the castles of Callao, a corvette, two brigs of war, several armed merchantmen, and above twenty gun-boats.

"At eleven o'clock at night of the 5th November, 180 seamen and 100 marines, in two divisions, commanded by Captains Guise and Crosbie, put off in the launches of the squadron, led by Lord Cochrane in person. They approached the Esmeralda unperceived, until hailed by a sentry in a gun-boat astern of the frigate. Lord Cochrane answered, 'Silence or death!' In half a minute, the boats were alongside the Esmeralda, and boarded starboard and larboard at the same moment. The Spaniards made a spirited resistance with small arms, but before one o'clock of the 6th, the Esmeralda was in possession of the Admiral. Her cables were cut, her sails set, and she, with two gun-boats, at half-past one, was transferred to another anchorage. The British frigate Hyperion, and the United States ship Macedonian, which happened to be in the port during this operation, got under weigh, and hoisted lights as signals, as had been previously agreed upon with the governor, to prevent being fired upon, in the event of a night attack. Lord Cochrane, with admirable adroitness, ordered similar lights to be hoisted, so that the Spaniards could not distinguish neutral from enemy. In the whole naval career of Lord Cochrane, there will not be found any thing, perhaps, to exceed this ably planned and brilliantly executed exploit. His Lordship was wounded in the thigh by a musket-ball. The brave Lieutenant Grenfell, now a highly distinguished officer in the service of the Brazils, and who has since lost an arm, was wounded.

"The Spaniards lost 150 men, in killed and wounded, on board the Esmeralda. Amongst the latter was Captain Coy, the late commander, who, after capture, received a severe contusion by a shot from the castles or a gun-boat. The patriots had fifty killed and wounded. The Esmeralda was ready for sea; she had provisions for three months, and stores for two years on board.

"The garrison of Callao was so much exasperated by the result of the daring enterprise, that they massacred an officer and boat's crew sent on shore, soon after day-break, from the United States frigate Macedonian, under the pretext, that the 'Devil' Cochrane would never have succeeded unless he had been assisted by the neutral men-of-war.

"At ten o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the Admiral sent a flag of truce to propose an exchange of prisoners, upon principles to which, until then, the Viceroy would never accede." *

Shortly after this brilliant affair, Huanuco signified its adherence to the cause of Independence. Despatches had previously been brought by a schooner from Guayaquil, announcing that that province had declared itself independent, and offering to place its resources at the disposal of San Martin, in furtherance of the liberation of Peru. Lord Cochrane, leaving some of his ships to blockade Callao, sailed with the remainder of the squadron, including the Esmeralda (now named by San Martin, the Valdivia),

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 283—5. Lord Cochrane, it is said, intended to follow up this exploit by cutting out the other vessels, and then making an attack upon the castles; but the seamen were too much occupied with plunder; "they had broken into the spirit-room, and were rendered unfit for further service."—Miers, vol. ii. p. 42. See also, for Cochrane's Instructions, Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 77.

in convoy of the transports, to Huacho, where the troops were disembarked on the 10th of November. The head-quarters were established at Huara, a few miles in the interior, and about twenty-eight leagues N. of Lima. Some small affairs with the royalists took place, but nothing of any importance, as San Martin did not feel strong enough to attempt a decisive movement; and his policy was to increase his army by volunteers. On the 3d of December, the Spanish battalion of Numancia, 650 strong, with their officers, passed over in a body to the service of the patriots. This regiment had been originally sent out from Spain under Morillo; but, at the time of their joining the patriots, the men were nearly all Colombians, who had been pressed into the service, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by casualties. On the 8th, thirty-eight officers and several cadets absconded from Lima, and joined the advanced post of the liberating army at Chancay. In the mean time, General Arenales had performed a daring march into the interior as far as Tarma; and in a brilliant action with a superior force under the Spanish general, O'Reily, at Pasco, he totally routed the royalists, taking the general himself prisoner.* Misled by false intelligence, Arenales, however, instead of maintaining his ground, was induced to re-cross the mountains, in which his division suffered greatly; and the Indians who had risen against the royalists, unsupported by the patriot troops, were routed at several points with merciless slaughter, by the Spanish general, Ricaforte.

About this time, dissentions broke out among the royalist chiefs, which had considerable influence upon

* O'Reilly was an Irishman. He was permitted to return to Spain, but is said to have thrown himself overboard on the passage, and was drowned.

the progress of events. " General La Serna, having been foiled by the *gauchos* in all his boasted plans of carrying on the war *en règle*, obtained the King's leave to return to Spain. In 1819, he arrived at Lima to embark; but, in consequence of the expectation of an invasion from Chile, the Viceroy promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-general, and prevailed upon him to remain. Soon after San Martin landed at Huacho, La Serna was ordered to march against him; but he refused to have anything to do with military operations, unless the Viceroy would consent to the establishment of a sort of aulic council, to be composed of generals, and to be called the *junta directiva*, in which the Viceroy was to have only his individual vote. The directive junta was to decide upon all measures relative to carrying on the war; to have the power of applying the public funds to the payment of the army, in preference to the claims of other departments; to have the removal and nomination of governors and intendants of provinces, and other similar appointments. The majority of the junta being well disposed towards La Serna, the latter became, in point of fact, supreme in military matters. Colonel Loriga was named Secretary to the junta.

" Notwithstanding these arrangements, La Serna and the junta displayed but little spirit or ability. A very moderate degree of both, would have enabled them to drive the inferior forces of San Martin into the sea. But the measures of the junta appear to have been confined to encamping their army in the unhealthy position of Asnapugio, and to a demonstration of attack; which induced General San Martin, on the 18th of January, to fall back from Retes to the right bank of the river Haura, where he re-occupied his former position, threw up redoubts to command

the few fordable passages of the river, and fixed his head-quarters within a league of Haura, determined to accept the battle which now appeared inevitable.

" The royalist division of Valdez reached Chancay, where Captain Raulet had an affair with its advance, in which he displayed his usual intrepidity, but was forced to retire with some loss. Before Valdez could advance any further, he received an order from the vacillating directive junta, which compelled him to return to Lima; in doing which, he lost above 100 men by desertion, most of whom passed over to the patriots.

" Whatever might have been the faults of Pezuela, it is evident that the junta, which soon managed to invest itself with vice-regal authority as to military matters, shewed neither energy, local knowledge, nor information as to the numbers and quality of the invading forces. Had San Martin been attacked upon his first landing at Huacho, he would have been compelled to re-embark and make for the port of Truxillo. Why the royalist army at Asnapugio, upwards of 8000 in number, did not instantly march against San Martin, is a question which La Serna, Canterac, Valdez, and Loriga are best able to answer. It may fairly be presumed, that the victory of Pasco, the cutting out of the Esmeralda, and the rencontres of Nasca and Chancay, had impressed the minds of the royalist leaders with a considerable degree of diffidence. Certain it was, that the sight of the patriot troops at this time, inspired respect. The revolutions of Guayaquil and Truxillo, and the defection of the Numancia regiment, appeared to paralyze the *junta directiva*. Divisions arose between the Spanish chiefs; and Pezuela, who was loudly accused of being the cause

of the discouraging aspect of affairs, was deposed by military commotion on the 29th of February 1821, when La Serna was appointed Viceroy in his stead." *

On the 4th of January, one hundred individuals of various classes passed over to the patriots from Lima. Among the military were Colonel Gamarra and two lieutenant-colonels. About this time, a battalion of Peruvians was raised by order of San Martin. Still, he deferred his advance upon the capital; and six months elapsed without any affair of importance. "San Martin," says Captain Basil Hall, (who arrived at Callao about this time,) "having shewn sufficiently what his army and fleet were capable of, chose to rely less on military achievements, than on the effect of disseminating the principles of freedom throughout the country. By means of political publications, aided by the exertions of numerous able and active agents, he carried his intrigues not only into the provinces, but into the very heart of the capital; and in process of time, acquired sufficient influence in the surrounding districts, to cut off the principal supply of provisions to the capital by land. The port of Callao being at the same time closely blockaded by Lord Cochrane, the inhabitants of Lima were reduced to the greatest extremity, while every other part of the country was enjoying freedom and plenty." † At

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 295—297.

† Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 85.—"All the world expected," says Mr. Miers, "that the patriot forces would advance to the gates of the capital, but General San Martin had from the first determined to pursue a different line of policy.....The urgency of Lord Cochrane to attack the enemy, when the General had resolved upon a different line of conduct, created violent jealousies in the mind of San Martin against the Admiral, whom he now looked upon as a rival." This Writer goes on to accuse San Martin of endeavouring to lessen the Admiral's reputation, &c. And he

length, on the 12th of May, La Serna, pressed severely by want, and menaced by the growing spirit of independence in the surrounding districts, proposed an armistice. San Martin had by this time pushed his advanced posts within two leagues of the capital. On the 23d, an armistice was concluded for twenty days. San Martin and the Viceroy had an interview at Punchauca; and the latter gave his personal assent to the terms which were proposed as the basis of a treaty of peace: but, in two days after his return to Lima, he wrote to San Martin, to acquaint him, that, on consulting the chiefs of the royalist army, the proposals were pronounced to be inadmissible. They amounted, in fact, to a complete declaration of independence; and San Martin was well aware that the Cabinet of Madrid would never have ratified such a treaty; but "his secret object was, to compromise the royalist commanders, so as to leave them no other alternative than to unite with him in the cause of independence." *

Unable to retain possession of the capital, invested as it was by *Montonero* parties, who hovered around and cut off supplies, the Viceroy abandoned that city on the 6th of July; but it was not till some days after, that the patriots entered the city. In the mean time, the suspense and panic of the people were at their height. Multitudes deserted the city, to take refuge at Callao. Captain Basil Hall, the British naval commander, wishing to be at hand, to protect the merchants whom he had recommended to stay by their property, landed

hints, that his cautious policy looked like cowardice. All this is perfectly absurd. Captain Basil Hall has given us San Martin's own explanation of his policy; and the result fully justified his calculations.—See vol. i. pp. 215—208.

* Miller, vol. i. p. 303.

and proceeded to Lima; and he gives the following description of the scene, which he witnessed.

"It was with no small difficulty that I could make head against the crowd of fugitives coming in the opposite direction: groupes of people on foot, in carts, on horseback, hurried past; men, women, and children, with horses and mules, and numbers of slaves laden with baggage and other valuables, travelled indiscriminately along, and all was outcry and confusion.

"In the city itself, the consternation was excessive; the men were pacing about in fearful doubt what was to be done; the women were fleeing in all directions towards the convents; and the narrow streets were literally choked up with loaded waggons and mules, and mounted horsemen. All night long, the confusion continued; and at day-break, the Viceroy marched out with his troops, not leaving even a single sentinel over the powder-magazine. Up to this moment, many people, with a strange degree of incredulity, arising out of long-cherished prejudice and pride, would not believe that such events were possible. When the moment actually arrived, their despair became immeasurable, and they fled away like the rest. For an hour or two after the Viceroy's departure, the streets were filled with fugitives; but by mid-day, scarcely an individual was to be seen; and in the course of the afternoon, I accompanied one of the English merchants during a walk of more than a mile, through the most populous parts of Lima, without meeting a single individual: the doors were all barred, the window-shutters closed, and it really seemed 'some vast city of the dead.'

"An indistinct dread of some terrible catastrophe, was the principal cause of this universal panic: but there was a definite source of alarm besides, which

contributed considerably to the extraordinary effect which I have been describing. This was a belief, industriously propagated, and caught up with all the diseased eagerness of fear, that the slave population of the city meant to take advantage of the absence of the troops, to rise in a body and massacre the whites. I could not, for one, bring myself to suppose this at all probable; for the slaves had never any leisure to plan such a scheme: their habits were not those of union or enterprise, for they were all domestic servants, and thinly scattered over an immense city, with very rare opportunities of confidential intercourse. Had the panic, however, been less general, and not spread itself over all classes, from the highest to the lowest, there might have been some grounds to apprehend a riot, or other mischief, from the mob attacking the houses of obnoxious individuals; but, as all the inhabitants were equally under the influence of terror, there was no one left to take advantage of the moment.

"The Viceroy, on leaving Lima, had nominated the Marquis of Montemiré as governor of the city; and the selection was a judicious one, for this old nobleman, independently of being a native of the place, was so universally esteemed, that his influence was likely to prove most beneficial to the city at this juncture. In the course of the day, he sent for such of the principal inhabitants as had not fled to Callao, in order to consult with them on the measures to be taken for securing the peace of the town. As the British merchants had no trifling interest in this question, I considered it right to be present at this meeting, where I found a strange assembly of people.

"Some came to learn the news; others, to suggest plans; and all, to talk, smoke their segars, and finally do nothing. Many whose politics had obliged them

to keep out of sight for a long time, now came forward from their places of concealment; and many whose authority had a few days before carried all before it, now looked sadly crest-fallen. Some expressed the greatest alarm; some sorrow; others were exulting and congratulating one another on the consummation of their political hopes; and some bustled about amongst the crowd, merely to say how very much they were in doubt what ought to be done.

"In the midst of this universal confusion and doubt, the minutest points of etiquette were not forgotten. The new Governor had to receive a visit of ceremony from the Cabildo, or town-council;—from the Consulado, or commercial board;—and so on, through all the public bodies, or, at least, from as many of the members as remained in the city. In these idle forms, much time was lost; and the day was wearing fast away, when the necessity of doing something, and that speedily, became too obvious to be longer neglected, even by men never known to act promptly in their lives. At the suggestion of a little republican, whose indignation at these absurd delays was roused to the highest pitch, a short letter was written to San Martin, inviting him to enter the city, to protect it from the imminent dangers by which it was threatened. It was not only of the slaves and of the mob, that people were afraid, but, with more reason, of the multitude of armed Indians surrounding the city, who, although under the orders of San Martin's officers, were savage and undisciplined troops, and very likely to enter the place in a body as soon as the Spaniards had gone. These Indian auxiliaries were so near, that we could see them distinctly from the streets, perched along the heights overhanging the town. The rest of the patriot army, also in sight

from Lima, formed a semicircle round the northern side of the city, ready to march in at a moment's warning.

"The most profound stillness reigned over the capital during the night; and next morning, the same party assembled at the Governor's as on the preceding day, in order to receive San Martin's answer. It was brief, but admirably in point, stating merely the terms upon which he was willing to enter the city with his army, should it be the real wish of the inhabitants to declare their independence. He had no desire, he told them, to enter the capital as a conqueror, and would not come unless expressly invited by the people themselves. In the meanwhile, however, to prevent any disturbance in the city, and to give the inhabitants leisure to consider in security the terms he now put to them, he added; that orders had been sent to the troops surrounding Lima to obey implicitly the directions of the Governor, who might dispose of all or any part of the forces as he pleased, without reference to himself.

"This conduct, it may be said, was evidently the most judicious, on every account, that could have been adopted. But it is so seldom that men in real life recollect, on such tempting occasions, those maxims at other times so obvious, which stand between them and a display of their power, that the Limenians were quite taken by surprise; and could scarcely believe it possible, that they should be so treated by a man whom they had been taught to consider as an enemy. His answer, therefore, was considered as somewhat chivalrous; and certainly, it was very considerate of the feelings of the citizens. After discussing it for some time, however, a doubt was started as to its sincerity; and one of the company went so far

as to suggest that the whole was a mockery of their distress, and that, in a few hours, San Martin would be entering the city at the head of his troops to pillage and lay it waste. Upon this motion being suggested, the little old gentleman who had been so active during the consultations of yesterday, proposed that the matter should be put to the proof, by the Governor's sending an order to some of the troops investing the town; and the result would at once shew on what ground they stood. Accordingly, an order was written by the Governor to the commanding officer of a regiment of cavalry stationed within a mile of the gates, desiring him instantly to remove one league further from the city. Considerable anxiety prevailed during the absence of the messenger, and great surprise and satisfaction when he returned to say, that the officer, immediately on receiving the order, broke up his quarters, and never halted till the regiment had reached the required distance. The news of this delegated power being in the hands of the Governor, and the ready obedience of the troops, flew rapidly through Lima, and put an end to every idea of insurrection among the slaves, or of riotous behaviour on the part of the mob. It instantly restored confidence to every one, and put the whole society into good humour with San Martin. For, although it was obvious that the Governor could not turn the power thus placed in his hands to any improper use, yet, every one felt there was something noble and generous in this show of confidence towards people so recently his foes, and so completely at his mercy. His subsequent forbearance in not marching the army into the city, was a measure not less courteous and judicious: it not only spared the inhabitants the humiliation of a triumph, but kept

his own troops out of the reach of temptation at a moment the most dangerous of all, perhaps, to good discipline. It was not, indeed, until the city had been completely tranquillized, a vigorous police established, and many small parties of chosen soldiers introduced under the command of careful officers, that the body of the troops were permitted to come near, or even to hold any communication with the city.

"In a day or two, every thing was restored to its ordinary state; the shops were again opened; the women were seen in every quarter, stealing out of the convents; the men ventured forth to smoke their segars in the Plaza; the streets were lined with people returning to their homes, and with loaded mules bringing back trunks, boxes, and household articles of all kinds; the mass-bells were again tinkling; the street-cryers bawling as heretofore; and the great city once more restored to its wonted noise and bustle.

"When all was quiet in the capital, I went to Callao, and hearing that San Martin was in the roads, waited on him on board his yacht. I found him possessed of correct information as to all that was passing; but he seemed in no hurry to enter the city, and appeared, above all things, anxious to avoid any appearance of acting the part of the conqueror. 'For the last ten years,' said he, 'I have been unremittingly employed against the Spaniards, or rather, in favour of this country, for I am not against any one who is not hostile to the cause of independence. All I wish is, that this country should be managed by itself, and by itself alone. As to the manner in which it is to be governed, that belongs not at all to me. I propose simply to give the people the means of declaring themselves independent, and of establishing a suitable form

of government; after which, I shall consider I have done enough, and leave them.'

"On the next day, the 8th of July, a deputation of the principal persons from Lima, was sent to invite San Martin formally to enter the capital, as the inhabitants had agreed, after the most mature deliberation, to the terms proposed. To this requisition he assented, but delayed his entry till the 12th, some days after.*

"As a measure of primary importance, San Martin sought to implant the feeling of independence, by some act that should bind the inhabitants of the capital to that cause. On the 28th of July, therefore, the ceremonies of proclaiming and swearing to the Independence of Peru took place. The troops were drawn up in the great square, in the centre of which was erected a lofty stage, from whence San Martin, accompanied by the Governor of the city and some of the principal inhabitants, displayed, for the first time, the Independent flag of Peru;† calling out at the same time: 'From this moment, Peru is free and in-

* "The cautious General, apprehensive of deceit on the part of the Spaniards, or from other causes best known to himself, did not order the troops to advance by land till the 9th, while he himself proceeded in a schooner to Callao····In the mean while, the people of Lima, left eight days without government, subject to the dangers of popular ferment, sought the protection of the British naval commander, Captain Basil Hall, who advanced with his marines, and preserved the public tranquillity."—Miers, vol. i. p. 49. Of this statement, the only part that is correct, it will be seen, is the simple fact, that San Martin was in no hurry to enter the city. Mrs. Graham's account is not more correct, but more malignant, breathing a passionate hatred against San Martin.

† "The new Peruvian flag represents the rising sun appearing over the Andes, seen behind the city, with the river Rimac bathing their base. This device, on a shield surrounded with laurel, occupies the centre of the flag, which is divided diagonally into four triangular pieces, two red and two white."

dependent, by the general wish of the people, and by the justice of her cause, which God defend!' Then, waving the flag, he exclaimed, '*Viva la Patria! Viva la Libertad! Viva la Independencia!*' which words were caught up and repeated by the multitude in the square and the adjoining streets; while all the bells in the city rang a peal, and cannon were discharged, amid shouts such as had never before been heard in Lima. From the stage on which San Martin stood, and from the balconies of the palace, silver medals were scattered among the crowd, bearing appropriate mottoes. The same ceremonies were observed at the principal stations of the city. Next day, (Sunday, 29th of July,) *Te Deum* was sung, and high-mass performed in the cathedral by the Archbishop, followed by an appropriate sermon preached by a Franciscan friar. As soon as the church service was over, the heads of the various departments assembled at the palace, and swore 'to God and the country, to maintain and defend, with their opinion, person, and property, the independence of Peru from the government of Spain and from any foreign domination.' This oath was taken and signed by every respectable inhabitant of Lima; so that, in a few days, the signatures to the declaration of Peruvian independence, amounted to nearly 4000. This was published in an extraordinary gazette, and diligently circulated over the country; which not only gave useful publicity to the state of the capital, but deeply committed many men who would have been well pleased to conceal their acquiescence in the measure."*

On the 3d of August, San Martin declared himself Protector of Peru, and assumed the supreme civil and

* Hall, vol. I. pp. 221—232; 258—261.

military command; announcing at the same time, in the decree issued on the occasion, that, as soon as the territory of Peru should be free from a foreign enemy, he would resign the command, in order to make room for the government the people should be pleased to elect.* He appointed D. Juan Garcia Del Rio, Don Bernardo Monteagudo, and D. Don Hipolito Unanue, ministers respectively for foreign affairs, for war and marine, and for finance; and General De las Heras was appointed commander in chief of the army. Among the first legislative acts of the Protectorate were, a decree, dated August 12, 1821, declaring that the children of slaves, born in Peru subsequently to the 28th of July preceding, should be free; another, dated August 27, abolishing the tribute, and forbidding the name of Indians to be applied to the Aborigines, who were thenceforth to share with the Creoles in the name of Peruvians; and on the 28th, a third abolishing the *mita* and every species of compulsory labour to which the Indians had been subjected. By another decree, every individual who sailed from Valparaiso in the liberating expedition, naval as well as military, was declared to be considered as belonging to the service of Peru, and entitled to a pension equal to half the amount of the pay he was in the receipt of, on leaving Chile. In the month of October, the Order of the Sun was established, upon the model of the Legion of Honour in France. It was divided

* In this address, distinguished by its manly frankness, San Martin says: "Ten years of experience in Venezuela, Cundinamarca, Chile, and the United Provinces of the River Plata, have taught me the evils which flow from the ill-timed convocation of congresses, while an enemy still maintained a footing in the country. The first point is to make sure of independence, and afterwards to think of establishing solid liberty."—Hall. vol. i. p. 270.

into three classes: 1. *Fundadores;* 2. *Benemeritos;* 3. *Asociados.* To the members of the first class, and to a certain number of each of the other classes, pensions were attached.* A certain number of those in each corps who had established the fairest claims to these honours, were recommended by a junta of general officers. On the 19th of December, property valued at 500,000 dollars, was granted to twenty general and field officers of the liberating army, as a reward for past services, and was equally divided among them.†

In the mean time, the Viceroy had joined the division of the army under General Canterac at Xauxa. On the 24th of August, Canterac left that town with 3000 infantry and 900 cavalry, and countermarching by the road of St. Mateo, arrived, on the 9th of September, in sight of St. Martin, encamped on the *hacienda* called Mendoza, a mile from Lima on the Arequipa road. The object of the royalist general was to attack the patriots and to succour the Castle of Callao, which was still under the Spanish flag; an attempt to surprise and take the principal fort, made by San Martin on the 12th of August, having failed. The state and appearance of the patriot army, says Mr. Miller, "were any thing but favourable, although it then exceeded 7000 in number. But, when Canterac beheld them strongly posted behind mud-walls, and supported in the rear by the

* "It might have been better," remarks Mr. Miller, "to postpone the formation of an order of knighthood until after the Spaniards were expelled; but the institution was a popular measure; and it was politic, inasmuch as it enabled Government to reward military and civil merit at a cheap rate; although it was evidently a step towards the introducing of principles savouring strongly of monarchy."

† Colonel Miller received 25,000 dollars for his share.

population of Lima, many of whom were on horseback, armed with sabres, knives, and pikes, he deemed it more prudent to pass on between Lima and the sea-shore, to take shelter under the guns of Callao. San Martin has been severely censured for not attacking the royalists upon this occasion; but, when it is considered, that many of his troops consisted of raw recruits, while the royalists were veteran soldiers and well disciplined, perhaps it may be allowed that he acted wisely." * On the night of the 17th, Canterac retreated across the Rimac, leaving General La Mar in the castle of Callao, with three days' provisions, to make the best terms he could. Las Heras, with the liberating army, was ordered to pursue the royalists, but to avoid a general action. After advancing to a distance of nine leagues from Lima, Las Heras gave over further pursuit, many of the chiefs appearing less eager to prosecute hostilities, than to indulge in the gayeties of the capital. Colonel Miller, however, at the head of the light companies, who were appointed

* Captain Hall states, that a great outcry was raised by all parties against San Martin on account of his "apparent apathy," and that "his loss of popularity may be said to take its date from this hour." The greater part of San Martin's army, it is admitted, consisted of raw levies; and "the slightest military reverse at that moment, must have turned the tide; the Spaniards would have retaken Lima; and the independence of the country might have been indefinitely retarded."—Hall, vol. ii. pp. 71, 2. Mrs. Graham tells us, that "Las Heras, after having in vain urged the advantages of attacking Canterac, broke his sword, and vowed never again to wear the habit of that disgraceful day."—P. 87. If Mr. Miller's account of the subsequent affairs be accurate, this must be pure invention. "It is curious," adds the latter Writer, "that some of the patriot chiefs most loud in condemning the inaction of the Protector, were those who had shortly before let pass the most brilliant opportunities to annihilate the royalists when scattered in the Sierra; as also when Canterac shortly afterwards retreated from Callao towards Xauxa."—Miller, vol. i. p. 372.

to act as a column of observation, followed the royalists, and some skirmishing took place. A hundred deserters from the Spanish army joined the patriots in the course of one day's march. Canterac had led his troops to believe, that they were to be marched against the patriots, promising them an easy victory; and when it became known that their destination was the Cordillera, discontents arose, which were prevented from breaking out into mutiny only by the execution of one officer and nine rank and file. Although the pursuit by the light division was not altogether successful, it led to the capture of 300 oxen, besides some horses and mules; it obliged Canterac to destroy his military stores; and it facilitated the desertion of above 1000 royalists, in spite of the exertions and severities of their chiefs." *

In the mean time, a disgraceful scene was exhibited at Callao, where Lord Cochrane, having come to an open quarrel with San Martin, was endeavouring to obtain possession, by negotiation, of the fortress; intending, in that event, to hoist the Chileno flag, in opposition to the views and policy of the Protector. A misunderstanding had existed for some time, the true cause of which it is not very easy, and not very important, to ascertain. The reasons assigned by his Lordship's panegyrists for his breach with the Protector, are, his utter disappointment and indignation at San Martin's assuming the supreme government, instead of summoning a congress, and his high-minded disdain at being offered the post of admiral of Peru, which would have rendered him, we are told, a traitor to the Government of Chile. San Martin is even

* Miller, vol. i. p. 279. The body of General Sanchez, who had been left in the rear by the retreating royalists, and who expired in a hut by the road side, was found by one of the Montenero parties.

represented as having refused to pay the squadron their arrears and the promised gratuities, unless the navy of Chile passed over to the service of Peru.* The plain fact appears to be, that the Admiral made claims upon San Martin, for arrears and prize-money, for which the Protector conceived the Chileno Government were alone responsible; while, with regard to the rest of the Admiral's demands, he admitted their validity, but required time to liquidate them. Lord Cochrane was highly dissatisfied, but affected to be urgent, only on account of the seamen, whom he represented as on the point of mutiny.† In the mean

* Miers, vol. ii. p. 66. "I assure you," says Lord Cochrane, in a letter to Monteagudo, "that *no abatement of my zeal towards his Excellency the Protector's service* took place, until the 5th day of August, the day on which I was made acquainted with his Excellency's installation, when he uttered sentiments in your presence, that *struck a chill through my frame*, which no subsequent act or protestation of intentions has yet been able to do away. Did he not say, aye, did I not hear him declare, that he never would pay the debt to Chile, nor the dues to the navy, *unless Chile would sell the squadron to Peru?* What would you have thought of me, as an officer sworn to be faithful to the state of Chile, had I listened to such language in cold, calculating silence," &c.—Graham's Chile, p. 94. If this letter be genuine, we have his Lordship's authority for discrediting all the tales respecting his previous disagreements with the Protector. On other occasions, his Lordship did not discover much concern about the claims and orders of the Government of Chile; and his affected horror at being pressed to enter the Peruvian service, was, at least, over-acted. Mr. Stevenson, however, his Lordship's own secretary, tells us, that in the conversation above referred to, *after* San Martin had declared, that he would not pay the Chileon squadron, unless it were sold to Peru, Lord Cochrane expressed his "sincere hope that the friendship which had existed between General San Martin and himself, would continue to exist between the Protector of Peru and himself."—Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 353. His Lordship's indignation seems to have been an after-thought.

† "Above all, the crews, who were at least half English, complained of the want of *grog*. The army, on the contrary, had been supplied with wasteful profusion, and all the advantages of the campaign had been bestowed on its soldiers."—Graham, p. 88.

time, the Royalist army approached the walls of Callao, where, as a matter of precaution, the coined and uncoined treasure belonging to Government, together with some property of private individuals, was removed from the Lima mint to transports lying at Ancon. Lord Cochrane, upon gaining intelligence of this, sailed to Ancon, and seized the treasure, to pay the squadron, "on account of, and in the name of, the Government of Chile." With regard to the sum thus seized, his Lordship's statement made it amount to little more than half of what the Protector asserted it to be. Part of it (about 40,000 dollars), which was proved to be private property, the Admiral thought proper to restore.* On the 21st of September, La Mar surrendered the fortress of Callao to the Protector, on terms highly favourable to the besieged. "On the 26th, the Protector transmitted to Lord Cochrane a copy of that article of his private instructions from the Chileno Government, which authorized San Martin, as Commander-in-Chief of the liberating expedition, to employ the whole, or any part of the squadron, as he might deem most expedient. In virtue of these powers, he ordered the Admiral and the vessels under his command, to leave the coast of Peru."†

* Mr. Miers says: "Even San Martin's property was restored." Mrs. Graham says, it was never taken, but "left untouched." The latter states the amount seized at 285,000 dollars. In Miller, Lord Cochrane's account is represented as making it 205,000; the Protector's, above 400,000. Mr. Miers tells us, his Lordship refused to receive any part as his own share! Besides this money, his Lordship "permitted some Spanish fugitives to ransom themselves, applying the money to the supply of the squadron." And he *intended* so to apply the "one-third of the Spanish property and passage-money," for which he stipulated in his separate negotiation with the governor of Callao.—Graham, pp. 87, 88.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 380, 381. Captains Guise, Forster, Spry, Carter, Esmonde, and others, instead of siding with the Admiral, entered

Instead, however, of returning to Valparaiso, as was expected, his Lordship sailed to the northward, with the O'Higgins, Valdivia, Independencia, and a small vessel, in pursuit of two Spanish frigates, which were ascertained to have touched at Panama. With his leaky and inefficient vessels, he proceeded to the coast of California; but learning that the frigates had not gone in that direction, he returned to the coast of Peru. During this long cruise, Lord Cochrane was constantly prevented from coming up with the Spanish vessels, by the state of his crews, consisting almost wholly of Chilenoes, and by the crazy condition of his ships, especially the O'Higgins.* It would seem as if this extraordinary man found his congenial element in scenes of peril and situations of extremity, which no one but himself would have so rashly encountered, or could, with equal fortitude and energy, have surmounted. Tossed about in a tempestuous and unfrequented sea, exposed to severe privation from a scarcity of water and provisions, the ill-paid and discontented crews were obliged to keep perpetually working at the pumps. At one time, after a long calm, and when

the Peruvian service; and most of the English sailors deserted from the squadron.

* "The O'Higgins, which had always been in a leaky condition, now, in consequence of the heavy gales she encountered, kept nearly one hundred men constantly at the pumps. All on board, except the Admiral, gave up the ship for lost, and expected she would founder at sea. But here again the character of the Admiral was displayed. The principal leak was under the bows: he caused a bulk-head or close well to be built, which confined the water to the fore-part of the ship; and having thus got at the leak, he personally superintended, and worked himself, day by day, repairing the rotten timbers, until he made her nearly water-tight. This circumstance, so characteristic of this extraordinary man, was performed during the chase, and at a distance of 600 miles from the shore."—Miers, vol. ii. p. 72.

ninety leagues from land, the stock of water in the whole squadron was reduced to less than a hundred gallons ; and the crews were in a state of the utmost consternation at the horrid death which seemed to await them. Their feelings were wrought up almost to frenzy, when the sky became suddenly overcast, and a tempest, which, under other circumstances, would have been dreaded in such shattered vessels, was hailed with rapture. The rain fell in torrents for twenty-four hours, and every cask was filled. At length, on reaching Guayaquil from the northward, the Admiral found that the Spanish frigates had arrived there a fortnight before, and that the commander, fearful of being captured, had capitulated to the Peruvian agents in that city for a stipulated sum, on the 15th February, 1822. Lord Cochrane then sailed for Callao, where he found the Prueva (one of the frigates) at anchor, with the Peruvian colours flying ; and he claimed her as his lawful prize. The Peruvian Government of course refused to comply with the demand,* and an altercation took place, which threatened to terminate in hostilities ; but at last, his Lordship deemed it prudent to sail for Valparaiso, where he arrived on the 1st of September, 1822. In December, he received an invitation from the Emperor of Brazil to take the command of his navy ; and notwithstanding his republican predilections, the Vice-admiral of Chile, on the 19th of January, 1823, left Valparaiso for Rio Janeiro.†

* The pretence for this extraordinary demand was, that he had driven the frigates into Guayaquil, under the colours of Chile.

† " Lord Cochrane," says his Secretary, " was bound by his allegiance to the existing government, not to become a party in any faction ; and his own honour would not allow him to join General Freire, by whom he was solicited, although he was convinced that the authority of O'Higgins must succumb ; he there-

To return to the affairs of Peru. The capitulation of Callao, the retreat of Canterac, and the departure of Lord Cochrane, left San Martin at liberty to take steps for the consolidation of his government and the termination of the war; but, unfortunately, Lima proved the Capua of the liberating army; and discontents and cabals arose, which threw fatal embarrassments in the way of any energetic measures. "The pleasures of a luxurious capital," says Mr. Miller, "had taken so firm a hold on the minds of the chiefs and others, that, when the march of some battalions had been determined upon, obstacles were raised, and pretences were fabricated for delay. When chiefs are remiss in the performance of duty, and inattentive to the claims and comforts of their men, it is no wonder that the junior officers become lukewarm, and the soldiers discontented. The inhabitants of Lima, who had received the independent army with so much enthusiasm, grew tired of their liberators, in proportion as discipline relaxed; nor could a quick succession of balls and entertainments prevent the growth of dissatisfaction and murmurs. Lima began to feel severely the burden of an army kept unemployed, while an enemy, whom the patriot chiefs affected to despise, retained possession of the interior."

The policy of the Protector in promoting to responsible commands several men of rank, whose principal merit consisted in their having declared for the patriot cause, though dictated by the most honourable

fore determined to proceed to Rio de Janeiro." In his farewell address, his Lordship told the Chilenoes, that he left them "*for a time*," in order not to involve himself in matters foreign to his duty, and for reasons concerning which he kept silence, that he might not encourage party spirit.—Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 465. We are not to imagine that the proposals of Don Pedro had any weight with the Marquess of Maranham

motives, became the source of incalculable mischief. It was his wish, by these means, to encourage other influential persons to follow their example, and thus to establish the cause of Independence without bloodshed. But these appointments gave great umbrage to the liberal party; and they led, in the end, to a disastrous prolongation of the contest. General Don Domingo Tristan, a worthy landed proprietor, who had twice changed sides, had been appointed to the command of Ica, for the purpose of recruiting the patriotic forces in that neighbourhood. He took with him two battalions from Lima, and his instructions were, that, in the event of the approach of an enemy, he was to retire without risking an action. Ica is a bad position, and Tristan had taken no precaution either to procure proper information, or to secure his retreat. He was surprised by General Canterac in April 1822; and by making a detour to the Pisco road, the royalist General contrived to place himself at Macanona, in the line of his retreat. The independent troops dispersed immediately. Canterac took one thousand prisoners, who went to swell the ranks of the royalists, four pieces of artillery, and a great number of horses, mules, and oxen. A party of lancers who were advancing to Ica, in ignorance of Tristan's defeat, were also attacked and routed, with the loss of ten killed and ninety prisoners. And the immediate result of this disastrous and disgraceful affair was, to put into the hands of the victors a large quantity of muskets, sabres, &c. in depôt at Pisco, besides nearly 3000 stand of arms thrown away in the flight; for the want of which the royalists had been much distressed. The moral effect of this reverse was, to dispel the idea hitherto prevalent of the military superiority of the patriots, and to throw a

damp over the minds of the people, who had previously lent their cheerful aid to the cause.

The only counterbalancing event at this period, was the victory of Pinchincha.* This battle was won on the 24th of May, 1822, by the Colombian General, Sucre, with the assistance of an auxiliary Peruvian division sent from Truxillo under Colonel Santa Cruz. The contending forces were about equal, each being between three and four thousand men. The second Peruvian battalion bore the brunt of the action, but it was beginning to give way before superior numbers, when Colonel Cordova, with two Colombian battalions, came up, and gallantly charging the royalists, decided the fate of the day. The battalion Albion, commanded by the brave Colonel Mackintosh, distinguished itself particularly in another part of the field. Five hundred Spaniards and three hundred patriots were either killed or wounded. The remainder of the royalists capitulated; and by the issue of this battle, the independence of Colombia was finally secured.†

On the 26th of July, a meeting took place between the Protector of Peru and the Liberator of Colombia

* See page 95.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 417. A brilliant little affair at Rio-Bamba, which preceded the battle of Pinchincha, is supposed to have contributed in some measure to the victory, by overawing the royalists. Lieutenant-Colonel Lavalle, who commanded a squadron of horse, forming part of Colonel Santa Cruz's division, having followed up the enemy too closely, found himself in the presence of 400 royalist cavalry. Aware that to attempt retreat before such numbers would have led to the complete dispersion of his men, he boldly charged them with his few followers, and drove the cavalry back on the infantry with considerable loss. He then commenced his retreat, but, being pursued, wheeled round and charged the enemy a second time with equal success. He then made good his escape,

at Guayaquil, whither by agreement these two distinguished personages had repaired to hold a conference. From the shortness of the interview, it has been inferred, that the result was not altogether satisfactory. The Protector remained at Guayaquil only eight-and-forty hours, and then returned to Callao. He had been anxious, it is said, to obtain possession of Guayaquil, in order to make it the great arsenal of the Peruvian navy; but Bolivar had also set his mind on annexing it to Colombia.* There were other points upon which the respective policy of these two chiefs might differ; and Bolivar is represented as having assumed a deportment offensively haughty towards San Martin. On the other hand, Mr. Miller informs us, that one result of the interview was, the sending of an auxiliary force of 2000 Colombians to Lima, in order to strengthen San Martin's Government, but that the junta which succeeded to the protectorate, ordered the Colombian troops to return to Guayaquil.

San Martin, previously to quitting Lima, had delegated his civil and military powers to Torre Tagle, Marquess of Truxillo, now styled *Supremo Delegado;* a feeble-minded and pusillanimous man, who appears to have been a mere cipher in the hands of the minister Monteagudo. The power exercised by Monteagudo was little short of despotic, and is said to have

* "This province (Guayaquil) had preserved its independence from the time of its revolution in 1820, when the Senor Dr. Don J. J. de Olmedo, the celebrated poet, a native of the city, was placed at the head of the Government. But, soon after Bolivar arrived there, he declared that Guayaquil belonged to the territory of Colombia, and that it should thenceforward be incorporated with that republic. The independent colours of the province were consequently supplanted by those of Colombia."—Miller, vol. I. p. 419.

been abused for purposes of the most shameful avarice and grievous oppression. At length, the inhabitants, emboldened by San Martin's absence, assembled tumultuously, and demanded of the Supreme Delegate the immediate dismissal of the obnoxious minister. They were supported by the *cabildo*, or municipality; the military remained neutral; and the Supreme Delegate had no alternative but to accede to the demand. Monteagudo, fearful of becoming the victim of popular vengeance, put himself under the protection of the municipal authorities, by whom he was sent to Callao under arrest, but was permitted soon afterwards to sail for Guayaquil.*

The Protector arrived at Lima on the 19th of August, and on the 21st re-assumed the supreme command. Secure of the support of the army, he would have had little difficulty in quelling the spirit of

* Mr. James Thomson, (agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society,) who was in Lima at the time, gives the following account of the transaction, in a letter dated September 4, 1822. After speaking of the dissatisfaction which existed respecting the prime minister, owing to his suspected views of establishing a monarchical government, and on other grounds, he writes: "This dissatisfaction openly broke out a few weeks ago, on account of his interfering in the election of representatives for this city. The consequence was, that a petition was presented to the Marquis of Truxillo, requesting that the minister might be immediately dismissed. This petition was signed by so many of the respectable and powerful inhabitants, that it had the desired effect. The minister resigned before the petitioners left the palace; and in a few days after, he was sent off by sea to Panama. All this took place in San Martin's absence, and the leaders in it were the *republican party*. San Martin has very wisely fallen in with these measures since his return, and has confirmed the new minister in his situation."—Thomson's Letters, p. 47. Monteagudo resided in the city of Quito till the close of 1824, when he returned to Lima under the patronage and protection of Bolivar, but perished by the hand of an assassin, January 28, 1825.

insubordination that had manifested itself in the civil authorities and the people; but this would have involved a departure from the policy he had prescribed to himself, that would have justified the clamours of his enemies. There appeared but one alternative. Deputies had already been summoned, agreeably to a decree issued by the council of state; and on the 20th of September, the Congress was installed with due formalities. The Protector repaired in state to the hall of the deputies, where, divesting himself of the insignia of supreme power, he resigned his authority into the hands of the representatives of the people. He then withdrew, and immediately set out for his country-house near Callao. Two hours afterwards, a deputation of Congress waited upon his Excellency, to communicate a decree of that body, expressive of the gratitude of the Peruvian people, and another conferring upon him the office of generalissimo of the Peruvian forces. San Martin consented to accept the title, but refused the exercise of the command; and he embarked the same evening for Chile, leaving behind him the following proclamation as his farewell address.

"I have witnessed the declaration of the independence of the states of Chile and Peru. I hold in my possession the standard which Pizarro brought to enslave the empire of the Incas, and I have ceased to be a public man. Thus I am more than rewarded for ten years spent in revolution and warfare. My promises to the countries in which I warred, are fulfilled; to make them independent, and to leave to their will the election of their governments. The presence of a fortunate soldier, how disinterested soever he may be, is dangerous to newly constituted states. I am also disgusted at hearing that I wish to

make myself a sovereign. Nevertheless, I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for the liberty of the country, but in the rank of a private individual, and no other. With respect to my public conduct, my compatriots (as is generally the case) will be divided in their opinions: their children will pronounce the true verdict.

"Peruvians! I leave your national representation established. If you repose implicit confidence in it, you will triumph; if not, anarchy will swallow you up. May success preside over your destinies, and may they be crowned with felicity and peace!

"SAN MARTIN."

"*Pueblo-libre*, *Sept.* 20, 1822."

On the retirement of San Martin, General Don Jose de la Mar, Don Felipe Antonio Alvarado, and Count Vista Florida, were named by Congress to form an executive under the title of the *Junta Gubernativa*. Xavier de Luna Pizarro, a learned and eloquent Arequipeno, distinguished by the dignified firmness and political consistency of his character, had been chosen president of the Congress. One of the first measures of that assembly was, to decree, that General San Martin should bear the title of FOUNDER OF THE LIBERTY OF PERU, and enjoy a pension of 20,000 dollars *per annum*. Another decree awarded the thanks of the Peruvian nation to Lord Cochrane for his achievements in favour of the country.* These

* This document is given by Mr. Miers, and by Mr. Stevenson, while the vote respecting San Martin is not mentioned; and Mr. Miers, by an imperfect translation, would make it appear, that the "tribute of gratitude" to Lord Cochrane, was meant to cast an indirect insult and stigma upon the ex-Protector. Mr. Stevenson's translation exposes the utter fallacy of this representation. Not content with this, Mr. Miers represents San Martin as returning

acts of justice augured well for the subsequent proceedings of the Sovereign Legislative Body; but it split upon the same rock that proved fatal to the other congresses,—that of assuming a share of the executive power; and it closed its political existence by voluntarily dissolving itself, and resigning the undivided authority into the hands of a dictator. At this point in the history, we may be allowed to pause, and take a review of the character of the illustrious individual to whose services Chile and Peru were so mainly indebted for their independence.

Jose de San Martin was born in the year 1778, at Yapeyú, in the Entre Rios, his father being at that time governor of the Missions bordering on Paraguay. At the age of eight years, he was taken by his family to Spain; and being destined for the military profession, he was admitted a student of the College of Nobles at Madrid. He served in the peninsular war, and was aide-de-camp to Solano, Marquess of Socorro, then governor of Cadiz. When that nobleman fell a victim to popular fury,* San Martin narrowly escaped assassination, being mistaken in the confusion for the Marquess, to whom he bore a strong resemblance. San Martin distinguished himself at the battle of Baylen, in a manner which attracted the attention of General Castaños; and his name was mentioned with honour in the despatches. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel, and served under the Marquess de la Romaña and General Coupigny. But the cry of Independence arose in

to Chile "disgraced and degraded;" and he ascribes to Lord Cochrane, the signal merit of being the first to brave his authority, and to curb as well as humble his power. "Yet, even San Martin," adds this Writer, "was not destitute of merit."!!

* See Mod. Trav., Spain, vol. i. p. 340.

his native land; and without having more than a vague idea of the true state of the contest in America, he resolved to quit Spain. Having, through the kind interposition of Sir Charles Stuart (now Lord Stuart), obtained a passport, he sailed for England, where he remained for a short period, and then embarked on the Thames for the shores of the Plata. Soon after his arrival at Buenos Ayres, he married Doña Remedios Escalada, a lady of one of the most distinguished families in that city. Having established his military credit on the banks of the Parana,* he was appointed, in 1814, to command the remains of the army of Belgrano, which had retired to Tucuman; but he was obliged, shortly afterwards, to remove to the Cordovese mountains, on account of ill health. On his recovery, he was appointed governor of the province of Cuyo, where he matured his plans for the emancipation of Chile. The slender resources of the provincial government, and the thinly-sprinkled population of 50,000 souls over a vast extent of pampas, prevented his being able to form an army strong enough to attempt the invasion of Chile in a shorter space of time than two years. Its organization reflected the highest credit upon his tact, talent, and perseverance; and the discipline which he established, shewed how well he had profited by the experience acquired in the Peninsular war. His popularity was evinced by the alacrity with which his exertions were seconded by the inhabitants of the province; and he

* San Martin was the first who raised and organized, conformably to the European system, a regiment of cavalry. It was called the *granaderos à cavallo*. In January 1813, with 150 of these horse, he attacked and defeated, at San Lorenzo, twice that number of royalists, and taught the patriots by that action, the advantages of the sword over the carbine.—Miller, vol. i. p. 76.

gained the confidence of his officers and men to a degree never before shewn towards any patriot commander. The victories of Chacabuco and Maypo raised his reputation to the highest pitch. Although he has had political enemies, he has always in fact, says Mr. Miller, been personally popular. Even when his army has pressed most heavily on the resources of a province, the inhabitants have continued to speak of him with respect and enthusiasm. In the formation of the government of Peru, he displayed the soundness of his judgement by selecting men of first-rate ability as ministers; and if he was less fortunate in the selection of some of his military leaders, it arose less from want of discernment, than from the policy which led him to promote to posts of honour, men of property and influence who had espoused the cause of Independence.

Passing over the more malignant aspersions that have been cast upon the character of San Martin,* the principal charges which have been brought against him, relate to, first, his want of activity and energy in the conduct of the Peruvian war; secondly, his assumption of the supreme authority; thirdly, his despotic expulsion of the old Spaniards in Lima, and the conduct of his minister, Monteagudo; and, fourthly, his desertion of the Independent cause at a season of great danger and perplexity.

* "Cowardice, cruelty, and treachery, the vices of his own character." Mrs. Graham, p. 99. At page 109 of the same work, San Martin is charged with being the instigator of two *supposed* attempts to assassinate Lord Cochrane. "Courage more than doubtful, talents not above mediocrity," "unfeeling cruelty," "scepticism in religion, laxity in morals, and coldness of heart," duplicity and the most sanguinary vindictiveness, (pp. 42, 43; 298,) complete the character of San Martin, as drawn by Mrs. Graham. Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Miers are not quite so intemperate.

With regard to the first of these charges, his cautious policy has been sufficiently explained. To those who consider desperate valour as the only qualification of a commander, the most obvious prudence may seem only a cover for cowardice; but to suppose that San Martin's declining to stake everything upon the issue of a battle, proceeded from a deficiency of personal courage, is to assign the most improbable motive for his conduct, and the absurd calumny is amply refuted by his whole previous career. The fact appears to have been, that he correctly estimated the character of his troops,* and knew that they would have been an unequal match against the disciplined force of the royalists, though half their numbers; he knew also, that a defeat would have been fatal to the cause of Independence, while the fall of Callao and the retreat of Canterac were all that could have been

* From the narrative of Mr. Stevenson, though abounding with virulent abuse of San Martin, we gather incidentally some important admissions. Thus, we are told, that the regiment of Numancia had declared, "that they would not march out of Lima against the enemy;" while "the greatest discontent reigned among the Chileans." (vol. iii. pp. 439, 441.) And Mr. Miller states, that "the *Logia* at this time pointedly supported the malcontents of the liberating army in every intrigue against the power of the Protector." (vol. i. p. 411.) The former Writer swells the patriot army to 12,000 men; Mr. Miller says, it amounted to only about 7000, many of them raw recruits. Mr. Stevenson tells us, that Lord Cochrane entreated the Protector to attack Canterac; and when San Martin coolly told him, that his measures were taken, his Lordship became "disgusted" and "exasperated." This is by no means a clear proof that San Martin was in the wrong. Mr. Mathison, who was at Lima at the time, represents the state of the capital to have been such as to render it doubtful, whether a large proportion of the inhabitants would not join the royalists. Several parties were actually detected in the attempt to escape with arms and ammunition to the enemy; and Canterac probably approached the capital with the expectation of being supported by the Spanish party. Mathison, pp. 252—257.

hoped for as the result of victory; and he therefore declined a battle which appeared to him alike unnecessary and hazardous. It is not improbable, that some of those who urged him to risk the encounter, and stigmatised his firmness as cowardice, would have rejoiced at his defeat.

His assumption of the supreme authority in the character of Protector of Peru, gave occasion to his enemies to charge him with ulterior views at variance with his patriotic professions. To these injurious surmises, his subsequent resignation is a sufficient reply. "It was more creditable," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "to assume the full authority in a manly and open manner, than to mock the people with the semblance of a republic, and at the same time to visit them with the reality of a despotism." All the evils which he had predicted from the premature convocation of a congress, ensued upon his abdication of the protectorate.*

It may be less easy to exonerate San Martin from being implicated in the tyrannical measures of the executive administration established by his authority. They were all carried into effect during the nominal government of Torre Tagle; and it was generally

* "With regard to his political bias," says Mr. Miller, "San Martin considered the representative monarchical form of government as best adapted to the South Americans. Nevertheless, his principles are republican; and it is the decided opinion of those who have had opportunities of forming one, that he never entertained the remotest idea of placing a crown upon his own head, although it is believed that he would willingly have assisted a prince of the blood royal to mount the throne of Peru; but, even in this case, it was to have been on the basis of absolute and complete independence from Spain."—Miller, vol. i. p. 425. This was, probably, an early scheme, and seems a branch or counterpart of the plan for inviting the Princess Carlotta to establish her court at Buenos Ayres.

believed, that their offensive and cruel execution originated with the prime minister, Monteagudo. But it may be supposed, that they had his general approbation. The first decree of the Supreme Delegate was, that all unmarried Spaniards who should leave the state, were to deliver to the national treasury one-half of their property; a measure which seems to have had for its object, to prevent their emigration.* But after the defeat of the patriot forces under General Tristan, several severe decrees were issued against the Spaniards, evidently dictated by the fear that they would avail themselves of that disastrous reverse to excite insurrection. On the approach of General Canterac, a proclamation was issued (April 17), prohibiting to the Spaniards the use of any weapons, or of cloaks under which arms might be concealed; not more than two persons were to be seen together, under the same penalty of confiscation and exile; and death was denounced against any persons who should be found out of their houses after sunset. On the 2d of May, not fewer that 400 Spaniards of the first families were forcibly taken from their houses, and marched to Callao, where they were thrust on board a vessel, which immediately sailed with them for Chile. The harsh and rigorous manner in which this summary act of vengeance was executed, admits of no justification; and indeed, it is evident, both from the unnecessary cruelty with which the act of expulsion was effected, and from the lan-

* Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 482. Captain Basil Hall gives a very different version of this decree, but apparently an erroneous one. "Towards the end of 1821, a decree was published, ordering every unmarried Spaniard to leave the country, *and* to forfeit half his property; and within a few months afterwards, this decree was extended to married men also,"—Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 87.

guage of the subsequent proclamation, that those who had the direction of it, were actuated by long cherished feelings of vindictive hatred.* The measure itself, however, appears to have been not unprovoked by the conduct of the Spaniards ;† and the exigencies of the Government rendered it, perhaps, a necessary step. The enemies of San Martin admit, that it would have been justifiable, had he not so solemnly promised to the Spaniards, security of person and property; and it is against the duplicity and treachery involved in the breach of promise, that they chiefly inveigh. It is, however, utterly untrue, that the Protector had committed himself by any such unconditional assurances. So early as August 4, 1821, he issued a proclamation, in which he directed all the Spaniards who were not disposed to acquiesce in the

* This document is given by Mr. Mathison, who was an eye-witness of the "horrifying embarkation." "It is long," says the Proclamation, "since Peru cried aloud for a solemn act of expiation sufficient to satisfy in some degree the demands of that justice which has during so great a length of time been outraged with the most insolent impunity····How often have we heard unseasonable exclamations of regret in America, as vehement as they were useless, because we did not expel the Spaniards at an earlier moment."—Mathison, pp. 291—295.

† On the 20th of November, 1821, several Spaniards were apprehended on the charge of sedition and conspiracies, of whom eight were sentenced to confiscation and exile, and thirteen to fine and exile for two months to Chancay.—Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 429. But the conduct of the royalists in laying waste whole villages with fire and sword, seems more especially to have provoked this measure of retaliation. The Proclamation itself appears to have been intended as a practical answer to the address of Canterac to the inhabitants of Lima, in February 1822, in which he reminded them, that whole villages had, for their obstinacy in adhering to the patriots, been delivered to the flames. It thus concludes: "Let us not forget what we might still suffer beneath the yoke of those who recognise no other means of pacification than *the flames*."—Mathison, p. 295.

new Government, to request their passports within a given time; and threatened those who, while professing their confidence, should engage in secret machinations against it, with the whole rigour of the laws, and the loss of all their possessions.* It would appear too, that, of those who were thus forcibly exiled, a number were prisoners of war.† The charges brought against Monteagudo, moreover, respected his conduct towards not merely the Spaniards, but the patriots; and so far was San Martin from being implicated in them, that the obnoxious minister is represented as having taken advantage of the absence of the Protector from the capital, to prosecute his nefarious schemes.‡ The Protector's first public act, after

* Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 275.

† "The plan of transporting out of Peru the majority of the Spaniards who remained here at the expense of Government, in the midst of its urgent distresses, satisfies at once the claims of justice and of humanity." Such is the language of the Proclamation; and it is asserted, that a great part of the Spaniards still remaining, were "mere soldiers of fortune, always ready to make war, either in the field or the cabinet, against the cause of the country.

‡ Mr. Stevenson has given extracts from the papers published at the time at Lima, in which, amid much obvious exaggeration, there are some very material statements. How far they tend to exculpate San Martin, the reader will judge. "Unfortunately for us, the genius of the Revolution, San Martin, had to absent himself twice from our capital, to meet the Washington of Colombia. The perfidious oppressor (Monteagudo) availed himself of his absence, to manifest the whole perversity of his soul. Until that period, his persecutions were underhand, but now they became barefaced. All Spaniards were considered rich; they consequently became the prey of his insatiable avarice; and at the same time, those patriots who had contributed most to the success of the liberating army, were persecuted to the utmost extremity. He formed a long list of proscriptions, &c.····In eight days after the Protector left the capital, his insults to the patriots were incalculable. He caballed in the most barefaced manner to place in the coming congress his own creatures."—Stevenson, vol. iii. pp. 449—453. This last statement confirms Mr. Thomson's account of the true cause of the insurrection.

his return, was to confirm the appointment of the new minister.

The last charge against San Martin, is that of having deserted the patriot cause on the abdication of his protectorship; upon which, Captain Basil Hall makes the following just remarks. "He never made any secret of his wish for retirement, and lost no opportunity of declaring, both publicly and privately, his intention of gratifying his inclinations as soon as the independence of Peru should be established. The question, therefore, seems to be, not whether he was justified in leaving the Peruvians at all, but, whether he seized the proper moment for doing so. It is true, he undertook to stand by and protect Peru when the sole charge was placed in his hands; but, when the inhabitants, after a whole year's reflection, thought fit to claim the privilege of being governed by representatives chosen from among themselves, he did not feel justified in refusing their demand. Yet, at the same time, he may not have considered himself as at all called upon to serve a country that no longer sought his protection. It was altogether contrary to his usual practice and feelings, to use force in advancing his opinions; and finding that he had lost his influence, and that the whole country, and even Buenos Ayres and Chile, accused him of a wish to make himself king, he was resolved to abandon for the present a cause he could no longer benefit..... If we believe San Martin sincere in his desire for retirement, we shall have still more reason to respect that disinterested public spirit, and that generous love of liberty, which could for so many years surmount every consideration of a private nature. It is so rare, to see such high powers as he unquestionably possesses, united with a taste for domestic and retired

life, that many are slow to believe him in earnest. If, however, that doubt be removed, we shall arrive at an explanation of his conduct, by supposing him to have imagined, at the time he retired, that he had done enough, and that, consistently with his real character and feelings, he could be of no further service to the Peruvians; or that, at all events, for the moment, his presence was not likely to advance their cause; and that, by retiring for a time, he might, eventually, more essentially advance the great object of his life, than he could hope to do by struggling against the wishes of the country so decidedly expressed." *

In retiring from public life, San Martin had a great example before him in Washington, which he is said to have emulated. After remaining a few days at Valparaiso, he proceeded, under an escort of honour, to Santiago, where he resided till the close of 1822. Observing, however, the threatening aspect of affairs in Chile, owing to the fixed determination of his friend O'Higgins not to discard his favourite minister, Rodrigues, who had become extremely unpopular, San Martin crossed the Cordillera to his old and favourite residence at Mendoza. The death of his accomplished wife induced him, in the following year, to quit the country for Europe. He spent sixteen months in England, and after visiting his friend, Lord Fife, in Scotland,† went to Brussels, to superintend the education of his only child, a beautiful and accomplished daughter. Towards the close of 1828, he once more visited this country, leaving his daughter under the care of an English lady resident at Brussels; and on

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 97—100.

† The friendship between the Earl and San Martin was formed during the Peninsular war, in which his Lordship (then Lord Macduff) early distinguished himself

the 21st of November, sailed from Falmouth for Buenos Ayres.

The person of San Martin is described as "tall and full formed. He has a dark, but attractive countenance, with black, expressive, and penetrating eyes. His manners are dignified, easy, friendly, eminently frank, and prepossessing. His friendships are warm and lasting. Though economical and unostentatious in his habits, yet, he is of a most hospitable disposition. He writes his own language well, and speaks French fluently."* He possesses, in a remarkable degree, the great and important quality of winning the regard, and commanding the devoted services of other men; and is one of the very few prominent actors in the cause of South American independence, who have successfully combined the statesman with the soldier.

It is a little remarkable, that so shortly after the retirement of the Protector of Peru, the Supreme Director of Chile, his friend and compeer, should have been compelled to resign his authority, owing chiefly to the misconduct of a minister, who seems to have been the counterpart to Monteagudo. The circumstances which led to this change of government, will now require a brief notice. Mr. Miller gives the following statement.

"Towards the end of the year 1818, the Supreme Director, General O'Higgins, named the members of a committee to draw up a provisional constitution; which was done, and sworn to within a few days of its promulgation. But, as this provisional constitution was merely a string of ill-assorted regulations, it fell very far short of satisfying the just expectations of

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 425, 6 See also, B. Hall, vol. i. pp. 213, 232; vol. ii. p. 98. Caldcleugh, vol. i. pp. 293—296.

the people. A senate, composed of five individuals, was named by the Director. Their powers were so undefined, and their influence so equivocal, that it tended rather to strengthen and support the directorial powers, than to act as a counterbalance to them.

" In 1822, O'Higgins convoked a preparatory convention, to determine upon the basis of a constituent congress. The members of the convention were elected by the municipalities, but under such direct and discreditable interference on the part of Government as to excite general detestation. This was increased by the convention arrogating to itself the attributes of a general constituent congress, and by the minister of finance, Don José Antonio Rodrigues Aldea, endeavouring to intimidate those who opposed this unconstitutional assumption of power.

" The Chilenoes, enraged at perceiving a really absolute government supported by a nominally constitutional check, had recourse to the only means left to them. A general rising of the people of the provinces, was followed by a rising of the inhabitants of the capital, in January 1823. The minister, Rodrigues, who had continued attached to the royalist cause until a late period, hated for his tyrannical proceedings and shameful peculation in office, was driven from power. Unfortunately, this man was a favourite with General O'Higgins; who was, in consequence, compelled to give way to public opinion, by resigning the supreme directorship, and by retiring to Peru. With the exception of a tour made in accompanying the head-quarters of General Bolivar in 1824, O'Higgins has employed himself in the cultivation of a very fine estate, presented to him by the Peruvian Government in the time of the protectorate. Thus ended the public career of

one of the most illustrious men of the Spanish American revolution. His valour, integrity, patriotism, disinterestedness, and his capacity, are alike deserving of the highest applause; and his errors of judgement are forgotten in the recollection of the goodness of his heart."*

Another account of the causes which led to this revolution, places these transactions in a very different light, and renders it pretty clear, that they originated, in great measure, in the old feud between the provinces of Santiago and Concepcion. Under the directorship of O'Higgins, we are told, Chile enjoyed, with little interruption, during five years, a state of internal tranquillity; although the defects in the new constitution led to evils which at length produced an overthrow of the Government.† The senate named

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 368—370. See also, Miers, vol. ii. pp. 93—97.

† The year 1821 witnessed the complete destruction of the Carrera family. Jose Miguel, the elder brother, after his retreat from Chile, had repaired to the United States, where he succeeded in obtaining the means of raising and equipping a force sufficient to re-establish his party in power; engaging, that the duty on American imports in Chile (when liberated), should pay the debt thus incurred. On returning to Buenos Ayres, however, Carrera's vessel was seized by the Government, and he was declared a prisoner. He escaped to Monte Video, and afterwards joined the partisan chief Ramirez, in the Entre Rios. Here, he learned that his two brothers, Luis and Juan Jose, who had escaped from Buenos Ayres in disguise, had been arrested at Mendoza, tried before a military commission, and shot. The surviving brother now thought only of revenge against the patriots. In alliance with Ramirez, Lopez, the governor of Santa Fé, and the roving brigands of the Banda Oriental, he invaded the territory of Buenos Ayres, and had a considerable hand in fomenting the disorders and sanguinary struggles of 1820. The history of his achievements is given with great minuteness, but very questionable fidelity, by one of his adherents, a young Irish adventurer, in the Appendix to Graham's Chile. At length, on the establishment of an effective government at Buenos Ayres, under Rodriguez, Carrera had recourse to an alliance with the roving Indians of the *pampas*; and

by the Director, instead of concurring in his enlightened views, formed a junction with the secretaries of the departments, and bade defiance to his too limited power. Heavy duties were laid on foreign merchandise; the due administration of justice was neglected; and the complaints of the people, on these and other grounds, became angry and loud. The exertions made in favour of Peru, rendered it necessary to impose heavy taxes, which, together with the little outlet for the productions of Chile, pressed severely on all classes; and the pay of the troops, as well as the salaries of the public functionaries, was many months in arrear.*

Such was the state of things when General Freire, who held the chief command in the province of Concepcion, was induced by the distressed state of the army, to grant a license to an English merchant to

carried on a barbarous and desolating warfare against the farmers and other inhabitants of the provinces. In one of those excursions, he succeeded in capturing the town of San Luis de la Punta, whence he marched towards Mendoza. The people of that town sent out a force to oppose him, and in the battle which ensued, Carrera was defeated. He was afterwards betrayed and taken; and on the 5th of September 1821, was shot as a rebel and outlaw, in the 36th year of his age.—(Graham, pp. 373—471. Miers, vol. ii. pp. 88—92.) Carrera has found his admirers and panegyrists, who celebrate his bravery, generosity, and even humanity. It is not denied, that his selfish, boundless ambition rendered him the enemy of his country; that he was an infidel in creed, a libertine in principle, and a traitor to the cause of Independence. He appears, however, to have been more reckless than cruel; and his talents and manners might have gained him honourable distinction, had he been either less ambitious, or less thoroughly unprincipled.

* To meet the exigencies of the state, a loan of a million sterling was raised in May 1822; but it does not appear that the proceeds were applied to the payment of the troops, at least in the southern provinces.—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 38. The history of this loan, a counterpart to the Greek loan, is given by Mr. Miers, vol. ii. pp. 210, 228.

embark a large cargo of wheat;—a measure strictly prohibited by the Government, with a view to harass the Spanish force under La Serna, at that moment suffering in Peru for want of provisions. This transaction excited the greatest indignation at Santiago, and Freire was charged with assisting the enemy. A warm correspondence ensued; and on the 18th of December, O'Higgins made a feeble show of reducing the general to obedience, by putting some troops in march towards the south. Freire, on the other hand, issued a proclamation complaining of the proceedings of the ministers, whom he accused of intending to starve the army; and he instantly marched to the capital. He abstained, however, from entering the city, and disavowed all intention of placing himself at the head of the government. O'Higgins had in the interim resigned his authority into the hands of a junta, on the condition that a congress should be immediately summoned; and, after some show of reluctance, Freire suffered himself to be constituted Supreme Director.

Many changes in the public offices now took place; and nothing but reforms was talked of. A general inquiry was ordered to be instituted into the peculations of the late minister;* but no report was ever made, and it soon appeared, that a change of men only, not of measures, had been effected. "The same

* Mrs. Graham represents O'Higgins as having been made the tool of a speculating trading company, through the influence of his mother and sister. Mr. Miers says: "It was suspected that the sister of O'Higgins participated in the speculations and illegal gains of the minister (Rodriguez), and his agent (a French adventurer); but no one ever ventured to impute any connivance in the transactions to the Director; and had any such connivance existed, it would, no doubt, have been brought to light after his abdication."—Miers, vol. ii. p. 96.

system of public robbery," says Mr. Miers, "the same procrastination and bad faith still continued to be practised. General Freire possessed no talent for government. In all cases, he refused to act upon his own responsibility, and referred every thing to the decision of the congress; a body which held its sittings only during a fourth of the year, and wasted that time in discussions of mere frivolity and etiquette."* After sitting above a twelvemonth, this assembly at length produced a new constitution for Chile, which virtually placed the whole power of the state in a small junta, self-elected, and invested with sovereign authority. The publication of this extraordinary legislative act excited great dissatisfaction in the provinces; which was not a little increased by the failure of an expedition against Chiloe, for which great preparations had been made, and which was headed by the Director in person. This enterprise had occupied the attention of Government under the administration of O'Higgins; but the embarrassments of the state had prevented the execution of the project, and that island still remained to the Spaniards. The disembarkation was effected without opposition, and one-half of the forces advanced upon Castro, driving the enemy before them; but their orders were, to wait half way for the junction of the remainder of the troops. The consequence of this ill arranged plan was, that the Spaniards took courage from their apparent hesitation, and attacked them in rear: panic-struck, they separated in confusion, and took to the boats, and the armament returned to Chile

* Miers, vol. ii. p. 112. The General is characterized by this Writer as "the weak-headed tool of a party;"—"a brave soldier, a well-meaning patriot, and an amiable, unassuming man; in person, address, and suavity of manners, greatly resembling O'Higgins, but still less competent to direct the government."

with the loss of about one-fourth of their force. It was not till the first month of 1826, that the Government found itself in a condition to fit out a second expedition, in which General Freire was supported by Admiral Blanco, with a better result. A landing was effected, and Fort Corona was taken, without much difficulty. The Spanish governor, Quintanilla, took up a strong position, with upwards of 3000 troops, on the south-eastern side of the bay; but, after some skirmishing, he capitulated; and "the territory of Chile was no longer sullied with the Spanish flag."

The ex-Director, O'Higgins, had shewn much anxiety to promote the establishment of schools, and the progress of liberal knowledge; but the elevation of General Freire to the supreme government, gave ascendancy to a fanatical party, at the head of which was a bishop who had been banished by the former Government, bringing back the reign of bigotry in all its force. No books were now allowed to pass the custom-house without the strictest examination, lest any work should be introduced, tending to the extension of heretical knowledge; and every obnoxious book was ordered to be destroyed. Yet, under the influence of Benevente, the prime minister, the very decided and courageous measure was had recourse to, with a view to relieve the exigencies of the state, of seizing all the property belonging to the monasteries, including some of the richest estates in Chile. What is most remarkable, the measure was so adroitly managed as to be sanctioned with the full approbation of the resident nuncio from the Pope, which silenced all shew of opposition; and the friars and the heads of convents acquiesced in the spoliation of the church

without a murmur.* Promises were indeed made to convert the despoiled monks into secular clergy; but these are not very likely to be ever realized.

It was anticipated, that these seizures would not merely have supplied the immediate exigencies of Government, but have invested it with a permanent revenue. A very great proportion, however, was, by artificial sales and similar subterfuges, lavished on certain favoured partisans, and but little money found its way into the exchequer. During the six years of O'Higgins's directorship, the resources of the state had been not merely equal to the ordinary expenditure, notwithstanding the shameful degree of peculation which prevailed in every department, but had answered to the extraordinary demands attendant upon the Peruvian expedition. Under General Freire's administration, on the contrary, the expenses of the state were nearly doubled, owing to a misapplication of the revenue to an extent unprecedented; and, notwithstanding the temporary relief derived from the church property, it became necessary to impose a direct tax (*contribucion directa*) upon all mercantile, agricultural, and other property, in imitation of the example set by Buenos Ayres. But, although the Chilenoes had submitted without a remonstrance to

* "I happened," says Mr. Miers, "to be in Quillota at the time the seizure took place, when the public authorities robbed the sanctuaries of their silver ornaments, the friars and heads of convents themselves assisting in the general plunder." "Throughout Chile at midnight, the military governor of every town, attended by a guard, took possession of every convent, seizing all the books and documents of the several brotherhoods."—Miers, vol. ii. pp. 204, 208. The net revenue derivable from the confiscated monasterial lands, after deducting the charge of maintaining the friars, is estimated by this Writer as certainly above 200,000 dollars. The bishop, being found intractable, was again banished to Melipilli.

the confiscation of the church property, they met this proposal with determined resistance. O'Higgins was now remembered with regret; and an attempt was even made to assassinate the friends and advisers of Freire; but it failed of success, and Benevente, who had wished to retreat from his critical situation, resumed his functions. These turmoils issued in the dissolution of the Congress in May 1825; and in July, a new constituent general assembly was summoned for the 5th of September following. This assembly met accordingly, but was forcibly dissolved on the 8th of October; and eleven members (among whom was Rodriguez Aldea) were placed under arrest, and sentenced to exile.* Early in 1826, another revolution took place; Freire resigned the office of Supreme Director, and was succeeded by Admiral Blanco; who soon, however, yielded the office to General Pinto,—"a man of liberal sentiments and cultivated mind," under whose administration, the country is reported to be rapidly improving in prosperity.†

We must now once more return to the affairs of Peru. The proceedings of the new Government were marked by the feebleness and discord which might have been anticipated under all the circumstances. In November 1822, an expedition, which had been decided upon before the resignation of the Protector, sailed from Callao, for the purpose of attempting the expulsion of the royalists under Valdez from the southern provinces.‡ It was unsuccessful at all

* Miers, vol. ii. pp. 203—210; 505—517.

† Miller, vol. ii. p. 371. Under proper management, Mr. Miers says, the revenue would be quite sufficient for the exigencies of the state. See his chapter on Finance.

‡ The royalists had at this time about 5000 troops under Can-

points; and General Alvarado, to whose incompetency the failure was chiefly attributable, returned to Lima with only a few hundred fugitives, the wreck of his beaten army. About 4000 troops (including 1200 Colombians) had remained in the neighbourhood of Lima, under General Arenales, who was directed to advance upon Xauxa, and threaten the royalists in that valley, so as to prevent Canterac from detaching any troops to the southward; or, if succours were sent to the support of Valdez, Arenales was to push forward and act on the offensive. He did not, however, advance beyond a few leagues from Lima, notwithstanding that he was well aware that Canterac had withdrawn great part of his force from Huancayo, to form a junction with Valdez; alleging, as an excuse for his inactivity, that he could obtain neither shoes nor great coats, which he deemed indispensable to crossing the Andes. These circumstances excited a clamorous discontent against the Governing Junta, and wrought the downfal of the triumvirate soon after the reverses of Alvarado were known at Lima. On the 26th of February, 1823, the chiefs of the army, headed by General Santa Cruz, the second in command, presented a strong remonstrance to Congress, and significantly recommended the nomination of Colonel Don José de la Riva Aguero as President of the Republic. Congress demurred; but a second message from Santa Cruz was imperative, and Riva Aguero was proclaimed accordingly. Arenales having suddenly withdrawn and sailed for Chile, Santa Cruz assumed the chief command of the Peruvian army,

terac in Xauxa, about 3000 with Valdez, near the coast of the Puertos Intermedios, and about 3000 with Olaneta, in the vicinity of Potosi; besides a few detachment in Cuzco, La Paz, and other garrisons.

which was now for the first time headed by a Peruvian ;* and notwithstanding the expectation that Canterac would advance upon the capital, it was decided in a council of war, to make another effort in the *Puertos Intermedios.* By extraordinary exertions, the troops destined for this service were ready to embark by the 14th of May, and landed at Iquique on the 15th of June.

In the mean time, about 3000 troops had arrived at Lima from Guayaquil under the Colombian general, Sucre, which, with 1000 Buenos Ayreans, (the remnant of the army of the Andes,) and 1000 Peruvian militia, were all that remained for the defence of the capital. On the approach of Canterac at the head of 9000 well-disciplined troops, it was determined that the capital should be abandoned. On the 18th of June, Canterac entered Lima. Riva Aguero had retired with the Congress to Callao, where the deputies continued their sittings in a small church. After much boisterous discussion, Sucre was named supreme military chief, with powers little short of a dictatorship ; a step imperiously demanded by the critical situation of affairs. On the 22d, Riva Aguero was divested of his authority, and retired, with the members of the Congress, to Truxillo, leaving Sucre in undisturbed command.† Canterac meanwhile had formed the

* Santa Cruz is a native of Guarina, near La Paz, and son of the Cacica Caluamani, a noble Indian lady. It is remarkable, that this general, as well as Riva Aguero, Colonel Herrera, the minister of war, and Colonel Gamarra, chief of the staff, all held Spanish commissions for some time after the landing of San Martin in Peru.

† This general was born at Cumana in 1793; was educated at Caracas; and served with credit under Miranda. From 1814 to 1817, he served in the staff of the Colombian army; and in conjunction with Santa Cruz, achieved the decisive victory of Pinchincha in 1822.—See page 95.

whole of his troops in line within range of the castles, and some skirmishing took place between the light troops. Finding, however, that he could effect nothing decisive, and that Sucre had sent off the greater part of his army to co-operate with Santa Cruz in the south, Canterac evacuated Lima on the 17th of July, having levied heavy contributions on the remaining inhabitants, and destroyed the mint.*

The capital being once more in the hands of the patriots, Sucre determined to place himself at the head of the expedition which had sailed for Chala; and, delegating his powers to the Marquess Torre Tagle, he sailed on the 20th of July. Santa Cruz had by this time established his head-quarters at La Paz; and so confident was he of success, that he evaded the acceptance of the offer of co-operation which Sucre transmitted to him from Chala. He was, however, compelled to retire before the united forces of the Viceroy and Valdez; and a retreat has generally proved fatal to the patriot armies. Owing to a series of misfortunes, and the dissolution of all discipline, his army was completely broken up; so that, out of 7000 men, less than one-seventh returned to Lima. The royalist generals were thus enabled to direct their whole attention to the expulsion of Sucre, who was ultimately compelled to embark with his troops at Quilca for Callao. The cause of Independence in Peru, now seemed to hang by a thread. The forces of the royalists, augmented by recruits, and by prisoners of war compelled to serve, were calculated at 20,000 men; and there appeared very slender ground for hope, that the patriots would be able to make an effectual resistance against victorious and overwhelming numbers.

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 94.

At this crisis, Bolivar, who could not behold with indifference the successes of the Spaniards, resolved to attempt, in person, the restoration of the falling cause of Independence in Peru. Having obtained the permission of the Congress of Colombia, he left the Vice-president, Santander, at the head of the Government in Bogota, and on the 1st of September, 1823, made his public entry into Lima. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and was immediately invested with supreme authority, military and political, although the Marquess Torre Tagle still retained the title of President of Peru. The ex-president, Riva Aguero, however, had, on arriving at Truxillo with the fugitive members of Congress, thought proper to call in question the validity of his dismissal. Having re-assembled the deputies, he proceeded to raise troops; and in a short time, some thousands of recruits from the northern province were armed and equipped in the department of Truxillo. He next dissolved his congress, and banished its refractory members. Peru had at this period, therefore, two presidents and a dictator. The royalists in the south were, shortly afterwards, placed in similar circumstances. The ultra-royalist general, Olañeta, in Upper Peru, refused to obey orders from the Viceroy, whom, as well as Canterac and others, he denounced in his proclamations, as *free-masons;* and he despatched a messenger to Madrid, by way of Buenos Ayres, to inform the King of his proceedings, in full confidence of obtaining the royal sanction.

Bolivar marched from Lima in the second week of November; and at Pativilca, he opened a correspondence with Riva-Aguero, with a view to induce him to acknowledge the Government of which Torre Tagle was the nominal head. The ex-President refused to

accede to the terms; and Bolivar, discouraged and disgusted, is said to have entertained the thought of abandoning Peru to its fate. But that which the Liberator could not effect by negotiation, was brought about by the treachery of Riva Aguero's own troops, who, headed by one of his most confidential officers, made him prisoner on the 25th of November. Torre Tagle, with the concurrence of Congress, sentenced him to be shot as a traitor, it being alleged that he had agreed to join the royalists. This sentence, however, was commuted into banishment, and Riva Aguero sailed from Guayaquil for Europe. His troops submitted to Bolivar, but retained their hostile feelings towards the Colombians.

Fresh misfortunes awaited the patriots. In Feb. 1824, the troops stationed in the castles of Callao, headed by a mulatto serjeant, rose and imprisoned the Governor, General Alvarado, and the officers of the garrison. The mutineers declared their only object to be, the obtaining their arrears of pay, and being provided with a passage to their native countries, Chile and Buenos Ayres. But such was the supineness of the Congress, that no steps were taken either to redress their grievances or to suppress the revolt. Torre Tagle and his minister of war were, indeed, secretly meditating how they should make their own peace with the royalists. The consequence was, that Colonel Casariego, a royalist prisoner of war, was released by the mutineers, and invested with the command of the fortress. The Spanish colours were hoisted on the 18th of February; and a letter was sent to General Canterac, then in the valley of Xauxa, inviting him to take possession of the castles. General Monet, accordingly, entered Callao, at the head of a royalist division, on the 3d of March; and Lima was

again abandoned by the patriots. The Congress, before it finally dissolved itself and dispersed, closed its political existence by abdicating its powers, and naming Bolivar dictator. About this time, two or three squadrons of cavalry at Cañete, and another squadron at Huacho, with its commanding officer, Navajas, passed over to the service of the royalists. The Marquess Torre Tagle, Count San Donas, (the minister of war,) General Portocarrero, and many other officers of all ranks, also deserted what must have appeared a desperate cause.*

Bolivar was at this time in the vicinity of Pativilca and Huaras, with a force augmented to nearly 6000 Colombians and 4000 Peruvians.† "He is, perhaps, entitled," remarks Mr. Miller, "to more credit for his conduct at the critical time which succeeded to the mutiny at Callao, than for any thing else he ever did in Peru. By his firmness, activity, and seasonable severities, he checked further defections, and obtained the respect and entire confidence of every faithful patriot. There was a charm in the name of Bolivar, and he was looked up to as the only man capable of saving the Republic. He did not disappoint general

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 119. This Navajas is stated to have changed sides no fewer than four times during the war of Independence. Torre Tagle, with his beautiful and accomplished wife and infant, perished in want of the common necessaries of life, during the subsequent investment of Callao by the patriots. San Donas once more deserted to the patriots a few days previously to the surrender of the castle, but met with the reward of his double treachery at the hands of the executioner.

† The system of recruiting which was had recourse to, was extremely arbitrary and cruel, and "barely justified," Mr. Miller says, "by the emergency of the case." The provincial quotas were levied indiscriminately, and often in the most unfeeling manner.

expectation; for, in less than a year from that time, South American Independence was finally established."

In the month of July, the liberating army began its advance towards Pasco. It was formed into three divisions, tolerably well clothed and armed; two of Colombians, headed by Generals Lara and Cordova, and one Peruvian under La Mar. The cavalry of Peru were commanded by General Miller; the Colombian horse by Colonel Caravajal; and the Buenos Ayrean by Colonel Bruiz; while General Necochea, as the senior officer, commanded the united cavalry force. General Sucre was chief of the staff of the whole army. This officer had displayed the most admirable skill and activity in his preparatory measures for facilitating the passage of the army to Pasco, a distance not far short of 200 leagues from Caxamarca, over the most rugged districts of the most mountainous country in the world. The labour of rendering tracks passable over such abrupt ridges, and along tremendous precipices; of erecting sheds at intervals on the long, barren, and uninhabited tracts of country; and of forming magazines of barley and maize for the cavalry, must have been immense. About 6000 head of horned cattle, collected from Caxamarca and the adjoining provinces, followed the army at the distance of two or three days' march, in charge of a commissary, who supplied the division, whenever provisions could not be procured where they halted. Every precaution was taken that experience could suggest,* and the most rigid discipline was observed. Unmolested by the

* The horses were shod on all four feet, (not commonly practised in South America,) and were kept well clothed in blankets during the night, in crossing the cordillera, by which means they effected the passage without serious loss.

royalists, who remained inactive in their cantonments at Xauxa, the patriots issued from the horrible defiles of the mountains; and on the 2d of August, Bolivar reviewed his army, 9000 strong, on the plain between Rancas and Pasco. An energetic address from the Liberator, which was read to each corps at the same moment, produced indescribable enthusiasm.

Roused at length from his dream of security, Canterac had, on the 5th of August, advanced to Carhuamayo, and pushed on with his cavalry to Pasco. But, on learning that the liberating army was in full march on the opposite side of the great lake, he fell back upon his infantry. On the 6th, he continued his retreat, while the Independents pursued their march along the southern extremity of the lake, in order to intercept the royalists. After a march of five leagues through a mountainous district, the patriots obtained from the elevated ground a sudden view of the enemy, marching, at the distance of two leagues, over the plains of Junin. At four P. M, 900 of the patriot cavalry, having dashed forward, came up within a short distance of the royalist forces, consisting of 8000 infantry, 1200 cavalry, and a proportion of field artillery. Canterac, finding his further retreat endangered, put himself at the head of his cavalry, and ordered a charge. The shock was tremendous, and under circumstances so disadvantageous to the patriots, whose enthusiasm had led them incautiously to place themselves in a most unfavourable position,* that the consequence was a total rout; with the exception of a few of the Colombian cavalry under Major Braun, who cut his way through the assailants, and of a

* They had advanced too far across a defile formed by a rivulet and swampy ground on one side, and an abrupt line of hills on the other, which prevented their deploying.

Peruvian squadron under Lieutenant-Colonel Suares, which happened to be a few hundred yards in the rear. The Spanish cavalry, instead of preserving their original order, now divided in opposite directions, in pursuit of the patriots. This gave opportunity to Suares to advance, unopposed, with his unbroken squadron; and getting completely in their rear, he began to charge in turn those who were pursuing the left of the patriots under Miller, who, embarrassed by the swampy nature of the ground, faced about. The royalists, now in an extended and disorderly state, perceiving themselves threatened in front and rear, began to waver, and fled. The seasonable succour of Suares enabled the routed patriot squadron on the right also to rally; and the Spanish cavalry were soon in a state of disgraceful flight, pursued to the very bayonets of their infantry by comparatively a handful of their opponents. The action lasted about three-quarters of an hour, during which not a shot was fired, the lance and sabre alone being used. The Spaniards lost 19 officers and 345 rank and file in killed, besides 80 prisoners. The loss of the patriots was, 3 officers and 42 rank and file killed; 8 officers and 91 rank and file wounded.

Bolivar had himself directed the first movements of the cavalry; but, on perceiving the dispersion, he galloped back to his infantry, which he posted about a league in the rear; and the next day, notwithstanding the retreat of the royalists, he thought it advisable to order the whole army to fall back upon Reyes. After a halt of thirty-six hours, the army again advanced, and successively occupied Tarma, Xauxa, Huancayo, Guanta, and, on the 24th, Guamanga, where they remained nearly a month. It seems impossible to account for this inactivity on the part of Bolivar, except by sup-

posing, that he did not deem his army strong enough to risk a general action, and that he awaited reinforcements expected from Colombia. Canterac was allowed to retire to Cuzco with little molestation, although his loss by desertion was great. He was there joined by Valdez, who had been recalled by the Viceroy from Potosi, after the affair of Junin. La Serna then placed himself at the head of the united forces, which, by indefatigable exertions, were soon augmented to between twelve and thirteen thousand men.

In the first week of October, the Liberator quitted the army, to return to the coast; leaving instructions with Sucre to go into cantonments at Andahuaylos and Abancay, on the presumption that the approach of the rainy season would prevent the renewal of offensive operations for the present on the part of the royalists. The judgement of Bolivar was here again strangely at fault; as it was manifest that the situation of the patriots would become very critical, should the enemy advance with superior force. Unwilling, however, to act in opposition to the instructions of the Dictator, Sucre did not think proper to advance, (as Miller strenuously recommended,) but he determined to send out reconnoitring parties, to ascertain the plans and strength of the royalists. It soon became evident, that the Viceroy, having been joined by Valdez, was about to commence offensive operations; and the royalists were actually descried in full advance by a party under General Miller, who had pushed on into the valley of Oropesa. The plan of the Viceroy was, to get into the rear of the patriots, so as to cut off their communications with Lima. With this view, he made a detour by the route of Pampachira, and on the 16th of November, reached Guamanga, whence he

made a counter-movement, by taking the high road to Cuzco. Sucre had, in the mean time, fallen back as far as Andahuaylas; and on the 20th, the advanced guard of each army met on the heights of Bombon, near Chincheros. The royalists were driven down into the deep and rugged valley of Pomacochas; and, crossing the river, they bivouacked upon the opposite heights. The hostile forces were within two miles of each other, as the bird flies; but the distance, by the tortuous track by which it is necessary to descend and ascend, is at least ten. A series of movements and counter-movements now took place, most harassing to the patriots; but they retreated in the best order, notwithstanding a skirmish on the 3d of November, in the valley of Corpaguayco, in which their rear-guard was overpowered, with the loss of their field-train depôt, the spare horses, and one of the two remaining field-pieces. Sucre conducted the retreat with skill; but his numbers became so alarmingly reduced by casualties, that nothing but some desperate effort seemed likely to save his army from destruction. The Indians of Guanta, Huancavelica, Chincheros, Huando, and the adjacent villages, had been induced to rise against the patriots; and upwards of 100 sick were massacred, together with their escort, and the escorts of some of the baggage. The Viceroy, determined to play a sure game, advanced with the greatest caution; and the most rigid discipline was enforced, to prevent the possibility of desertion. He even refrained from sending out detachments in search of cattle, and avoided entering the villages, so that the royalists suffered still more than the patriots, from want of provisions.

At length, on the 6th of December, the patriots had reached the village of Quinua; and the royalists, by

entering Guamanguilla, once more cut off their retreat, placing them in a situation extremely critical. On the afternoon of the 8th, the Viceroy moved from Guamanguilla, and occupied, with his whole force, the heights of Condorkanki, just without gun-shot of the encampment of the patriots. Two hours before sunset, a royalist battalion of light infantry descended the hill, and extended itself at the foot; and some sharp skirmishing in extended files took place in view of the two armies * The night which succeeded, was one of deeply anxious interest. A battle on the following day was inevitable; and that battle was to decide the destinies of South America. "The patriots," continues Mr. Miller, "were aware that they had to contend against twice their own numbers, and that nothing but a decisive victory could save them and their country from ignominious servitude. They knew full well, what would be the cruel policy of the Spaniards, if they proved victorious. Every one felt that the approaching battle was to have no common result.

"Quinua, an Indian village, is on the western extremity of the plain of Ayacucho, the shape of which is nearly square, about a league in circumference, and flanked right and left by deep, rugged ravines. In the rear of the plain, or towards the west, is a gradual descent of two leagues to the main road from Guamanga to Guanta, which runs along the base of a mountain range, that rises like a wall with no apparent outlet. The eastern boundary of the plain is formed by the abrupt and rugged ridge of Condor-

* "The interest of the scene," says Mr. Miller, "was much enhanced by occasional cessations of firing, by tacit consent; during which intervals, several officers of the opposite parties approached each other, and conversed." In one instance, those who thus met, were brothers!

kanki, which gigantic bulwark, running north and south, overlooks the field of Ayacucho. A little below the summit of this ridge, was perched the royalist army.

" The liberating army was drawn up on the plain, in front of the Spaniards, at the distance of about a mile, having Quinua in the rear, each corps formed in close column, to await the attack of the royalists.

" During the night of the 8th, a brisk fire was maintained between the royalist and patriot out-posts. It was the object of Sucre, to prevent the royalists descending in the night. For this purpose, the bands of two battalions were sent with a company near to the foot of the ridge, and continued playing for some time, whilst a sharp fire was kept up. This feint had the desired effect, for the royalists did not stir from their lines.

" At nine A.M., the division Villalobos began to descend. The Viceroy on foot placed himself at its head, and the files wound down the craggy side of Condorkanki, obliquing a little to their left. The division Monet, forming the royalist right, commenced at the same time to defile directly into the plain. The cavalry, leading their horses, made the same movement, though with greater difficulty, at intervals between the infantry of each division. As the files arrived on the plain, they formed into column. This was a moment of extraordinary interest. It appeared as though respiration were suspended by feelings of anxiety, mingled with doubts and hope.

" It was during this operation, which had an imposing effect, that General Sucre rode along his own line, and, addressing a few emphatic words to each corps, recalled to memory its former achievements. He then placed himself in a central point, in front of

his line, and in an inspiring tone of voice, said, ' That upon the efforts of that day depended the fate of South America;' then, pointing to the descending columns, he assured his men, ' that another day of glory was about to crown their admirable constancy.' This animating address of the General produced an electric effect, and was answered by enthusiastic ' *vivas*.'

" By the time that rather more than half the royalist divisions Monet and Villalobos had reached and formed upon the arena, General Sucre ordered the division Cordova and two regiments of cavalry to advance to the charge. The gallant Cordova dismounted,* and placed himself about fifteen yards in front of his division, formed into four parallel columns with the cavalry in the intervals. Waving his hat above his head, he exclaimed, *Adelante*, *con paso de vencedores* (onwards with the step of conquerors). These words were heard distinctly throughout the columns, which, inspired by the gallant bearing of their leader, moved to the attack in the finest possible order. The Spaniards stood firmly and full of apparent confidence. The Viceroy, Monet, and Villalobos, were seen at the head of their divisions, superintending the formation of their columns as they reached the plain. The hostile bayonets crossed, and for three or four minutes, the two parties were seen struggling together, so as to leave it doubtful which would give way. At this moment, the Colombian cavalry, headed by Colonel Silva, charged. This brave officer fell covered with wounds, but the intrepidity of the onset

* Plunging his sword into his charger, he exclaimed to his troops: " There lies my last horse; I have now no means of escape, and we must fight it out together."

was irresistible. The royalists lost ground, and were driven back with great slaughter. The Vice-king was wounded and taken prisoner. As the fugitives climbed the sides of Condorkanki, the patriots kept up a well-directed fire, and numbers of the enemy were seen to drop and roll down, till their progress was arrested by the brush-wood or some jutting crag.

" General Miller, who had accompanied Cordova's division, perceiving its complete success, returned to the regiment of Usares de Junin, which fortunately, as it turned out, had been left in reserve.

" At dawn of day, the royalist division Valdez had commenced a detour of nearly a league. Descending the sides of Condorkanki on the north, Valdez placed himself on the left of the patriots at musket-shot distance, separated by a ravine. At the important moment of the battle, just described, he opened a heavy fire from four field-pieces and a battalion in extended files. By this, he obliged two battalions of the Peruvian division La Mar to fall back. The Colombian battalion Bargas, sent to support the Peruvian division, also began to give way. Two royalist battalions crossed the deep ravine, already spoken of, on the left, and advanced in double quick time in pursuit of the retiring patriots. At this critical juncture, General Miller led the hussars of Junin against the victorious Spaniards, and by a timely charge drove them back, and followed them across the ravine, being further supported by the *granaderos à cavallo* and by the division La Mar, which had rallied. The artillery of Valdez were taken; his cavalry retired; and his infantry dispersed.

" The royalists had now lost the battle, and fled to the ridge from which they had descended, in the morning, with so much confidence. The action lasted

an hour. Of the royalists, 1400 were killed, and 700 wounded. The loss on the part of the patriots was 370 killed, and 609 wounded.

"The royalists, upon regaining the heights of Condorkanki, rallied as many of their defeated troops as they possibly could. The patriot divisions La Mar and Lara gained the summit of the heights at about one P.M. Before sunset, Canterac sued for terms, and an hour afterwards, rode down to the tent of Sucre, where a capitulation was agreed upon. The Viceroy La Serna,* Generals Canterac,† Valdez,‡ Carratala, Monet, Villalobos, and 10 others, 16 colonels, 68 lieutenant-colonels, 484 officers, and 3200 rank and file, became prisoners of war. The rest had dispersed." §

* "La Serna commenced his career in the artillery, and when lieutenant-colonel, served under Palafox, at Saragoza, in 1809. He was created Conde de los Andes on the very day of the battle of Ayacucho. Having withdrawn from public life, he now resides in his native town of Xeres de la Frontera, in Andalusia."

† "General Canterac is a Frenchman, whose parents emigrated to Spain in 1792. He first served in the Spanish artillery, and then in the cavalry. When a subaltern, he was a good deal employed in active partisan warfare, and signalized himself by his intelligence and bravery. He served on the staff of O'Donnel. Canterac is a disciplinarian, an excellent tactician, and possesses a fine address. He is turned of forty, is unemployed at present, and resides at Valladolid, where he has lately married."

‡ General Valdez, born in 1786, at Placentia in Estremadura, was educated for the bar, but took arms on the French invasion of the Peninsula. In 1811, he was aide-de-camp to Ballasteros, and was supposed to be the writer of that General's remonstrance to the Regency upon their nominating Lord Wellington generalissimo. He retired with Ballasteros on his removal from command, but, in 1813, was again employed, and served with distinction. In 1815, he accompanied General La Serna to Peru, as chief of the staff. He is, in his manners, violent, abrupt, overbearing, and uncourteous, very negligent of personal appearance or comforts, remarkably disinterested, a thorough soldier, "feared by his officers, but idolized by his men." He is now second in command of the province of Arragon.

§ Miller, vol. ii. pp. 194—201.

The battle of Ayacucho is pronounced by Mr. Miller, "the most brilliant ever fought in South America." The troops on both sides were in a state of discipline that would have been creditable to the best European armies; the ablest generals and chiefs of either party were present; and every man fought with undaunted bravery.* The plan of the royalists was, to wait until Valdez had out-flanked the left of Sucre's position, upon which the whole army was to advance and complete the victory. The mistake of the Viceroy in attacking at all, originated in suffering himself to be impelled to it by the eagerness of his troops, whose patience had been worn out by the terrible marches. After the battle, many Spanish officers, availing themselves of the terms of the capitulatión, received their passports, and set out for Spain: a few remained to settle their private affairs. Some of the royalist soldiers entered the patriot battalions, but the greater part dispersed and returned to their homes.

General Sucre, determined to lose no time in following up his advantage, ordered General Gamarra to march with a Peruvian battalion for Cuzco. The Spanish garrison there under Alvarez, surrendered on the 25th of December, conformably to the capitulation of Ayacucho. General Tristan (who shamefully broke his parole in 1813) now assumed the title of Viceroy, and made some efforts to maintain himself in that character; but, disappointed in his hopes of support, he surrendered with a small garrison at Arequipa, to a patriot colonel sent from Guamanga to that city.

* "The men of one squadron, and all the officers of a royalist cavalry regiment, wore silver helmets. These became the objects of the particular attention of the patriot soldiers in the pursuit. Some had the presence of mind to save themselves by throwing off these gorgeous casques."

Olañeta, however, was still at the head of about 4000 troops in Upper Peru, and he obstinately refused to listen to any proposals.

Having allowed his troops to rest for a fortnight in Cuzco, Sucre advanced upon Puno, where he learned that the royalist garrisons of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, had declared for the patriots; and that Colonel Lanza, who, during nearly the whole struggle for independence, held possession of the valleys of Yungas, had entered La Paz. Leaving General Miller as prefect and commandant-general of the department of Puno,* Sucre marched to give battle to Olañeta; and he had reached Chuquisaca, in April 1825, when tidings were received of the death of Olañeta, who had been mortally wounded at Tumusla, (16 leagues S. of Potosi,) in an affray with a body of his own troops, who, headed by Colonel Medina Celi, had risen against their general. The few remaining adherents of Olañeta were speedily obliged to surrender; and thus, the whole of Peru was freed from its enemies, excepting the garrison of Callao, which still held out under General Rodil.

Bolivar, on quitting the liberating army, had taken up his residence at Chancay. Lima was permanently held by neither party, but was alternately in the possession of each. The royalists, however, retained it longer than the patriots, who generally confined their attempts to sending in a few *montoneros*, who seldom remained there a considerable time. Being at length re-inforced with Colombian troops, who arrived subsequently to the battle of Ayacucho, General Salom was enabled closely to invest Callao, while the patriot squadron under Admiral Guise, blockaded it by sea.

* He was subsequently appointed president (or prefect) of Potosi.

During the protracted siege, the patriot troops suffered very severely from ague, and many hundreds died. The besieged suffered still more from a pestilential fever, which broke out in consequence of a scarcity of fresh provisions, and carried off several thousands. Many whole families of the highest rank, who had shut themselves up with Rodil, became exterminated.* Undismayed by these surrounding horrors, that General obstinately persisted in his gallant but unavailing defence. He suppressed several attempts at mutiny on the part of the garrison, and sustained bombardment from both the Peruvian squadron and the batteries of the investing army. Having thus held out unaided for nearly thirteen months, during part of which time the garrison subsisted on the flesh of horses, asses, and dogs, he was reduced by absolute famine to the last extremity, and capitulated upon honourable terms, on January 19, 1826.† "The last link of the chain that had but lately bound seventeen millions of Americans to the tottering monarchy of Spain, was thus finally broken."

The Provinces of Upper Peru had, previously to the Revolution, formed part of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.‡ "As, however, the manners, customs, and even language of the majority of the inhabitants were extremely dissimilar to those of the natives of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, the Argentine Republic

* Out of above 4000 of the unfortunate people who retired to Callao, not more than 200, says Mr. Miller, survived the ravages of famine and epidemic disease. Of the numerous family of Torre Tagle, every individual perished.

† Rodil is now commandant-general of the guards in Madrid.

‡ A few days after the affair of Ayacucho, and before the news could have reached Brazil, a party of about 200 troops took possession of the province of Chiquitos in the name of the Emperor, but they speedily retired before the patriots.

generously and judiciously," Mr. Miller says, "relinquished its claim, and concurred in allowing it to decide upon its own political destiny, conformably to the known views of the Liberator and General Sucre. The latter was to continue the exercise of the supreme power until a new government should be duly organized. A general assembly of deputies met at Chuquisaca in August 1825, and proclaimed the national will to be, that Upper Peru should become an independent nation. The deputies having fulfilled the object for which they had been convened, it was hoped, rather than expected, that they would have separated in order to make way for a general legislative body. Unwilling, however, to relinquish the captivating title of legislators, they continued their session, and assuming congressional powers, passed various laws. They decreed, that Upper Peru should in future be called BOLIVIA. They put forth a declaration of Independence, very proper in its intention, but so pompously written as almost to throw an air of ridicule over the whole proceeding. A million of dollars was voted to Bolivar as a reward for his past eminent services; but the Liberator, with characteristic disinterestedness and magnanimity, accepted the grant only upon condition that the money should be employed in purchasing the liberty of about one thousand negro slaves existing in Bolivia. A million of dollars was also voted to those who had served in the campaign of 1824."

This assembly having dissolved itself on the 6th of October, a general congress was summoned for the following May. In the mean time, Bolivar, having re-assembled at Lima the deputies of the congress of Lower Peru, resigned to them (February 10, 1825) his Dictatorship; but, being solicited to remain at the

head of affairs, he, with the appearance and expressions of reluctance, acceded to the wishes of the people. Having decreed the convention of a new congress in the February of 1826, the Dictator set out from Lima in April, on a triumphal progress through the country which had received his name. "On Bolivar's approach to the capitals of departments, the prefects, at the head of the public authorities, accompanied by a great part of the population, went out to meet him; and he was received with a degree of pomp and rejoicing highly flattering to his feelings. Triumphal arches were raised; costly presents were made to him; and grand dinners, balls, and bull-fights were given. The same honours were paid him, on a smaller scale, at every town and village through which he passed. Cuzco and Potosi struck medals of copper, silver, and gold, to commemorate the Liberator's arrival in those cities." *

In January 1826, Bolivar quitted Chuquisaca, in order to be present at the installation of the Congress at Lima, at which, it seems, he was expected again to resign his absolute power. Several of the deputies arrived in the capital a short time before the day fixed for the opening of the session; and many of them expressed their sentiments very freely as to the propriety of the Colombian troops being withdrawn from the Peruvian territory, agreeably to the declaration of Bolivar, that, when the Independence of Peru should be achieved, he would return with all his troops, without carrying away even a grain of sand. The deputies had gone so far as to hold their preparatory meeting, when they received orders from Bolivar to submit their qualifications to examination by the

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 302.

supreme court of justice. They contended, that they formed themselves the proper tribunal for such scrutiny; and an altercation ensued between them and Dr. Unanue, president of the council of government. Bolivar, upon hearing of this refractory disposition, threatened to quit Peru. Petitions that Congress might *not* be installed, were now got up. Their prayer was acceded to. The deputies returned to their homes, and the Liberator consented to remain. Santa Cruz was named by Bolivar president of the council; and in June he entered upon the office.*

It was about this period, that Bolivar framed a constitution for the new republic of Bolivia, which was submitted to the Congress installed at Chuquisaca in May 1826. Upon the report of the committee appointed to examine this legislative instrument, it was resolved to adopt it; and it was sworn to by the people accordingly. In conformity to its provisions, a *presidente vitalicio* (president for life) was to be elected; and the choice fell, of course, upon Sucre. He consented to accept the office, however, only for two years, and upon condition that 2000 Colombian troops should be permitted to remain with him. To these conditions, Congress acceded.

"The Liberator," remarks Mr. Miller, "was, no doubt, exceedingly desirous that the *Code Boliviano* should be also adopted in Peru. From the highly flattering manner in which he had been received in his tour through the provinces, he had, perhaps, been induced to imagine, and certainly with some appearance of probability, that whatever he recommended would be implicitly acceded to. He was confirmed in this erroneous way of thinking by those around

* The offer was made by Bolivar to La Mar, but indisposition disabled him from undertaking the office.

him, and by others who constantly advocated the necessity of what they called a 'strong government.' This opinion was sustained by some of the ablest and best informed men in office, whose personal interest induced them to mislead Bolivar on this point; in which they were seconded by others anxious for place and emolument. These gentlemen reasoned as if every cause of complaint was to be traced to demagogues and party spirit, which a strong government would, as they persisted in declaring, have been able to keep down. But they forgot that no government in Peru could be really strong and durable, unless supported by public opinion; and they overlooked the inapplicability of remedies which might, perhaps, better suit the meridian of Europe.

"The Peruvians, freed from the apprehension of danger from Spain, began to feel with impatience the burden of supporting expensive allies; and although the Colombian troops observed the strictest discipline, their national manners and habits were widely different and uncongenial to those of the Peruvians. The *Code Boliviano* was therefore unpopular with the majority; and the very efforts made to prepare the minds of the Peruvians to accept the constitution, increased their aversion to it. For a long time before this, an anti-Colombian spirit had existed: this spirit now led to the formation of a strong party. To distaste, succeeded avowed disgust and open discontent. A conspiracy was discovered, having, it was said, for its object, the assassination of General Bolivar, and the expulsion of the Colombians. Although many affirmed that it was limited to a few subalterns, and others, that it was altogether imaginary, strong measures were taken. A supreme tribunal was formed to meet the exigency; and its members, the learned

Doctores Estenos, Pancorvo, and Freyre, rivalled the zeal displayed by Rivadeneyra, who had been president of a permanent court-martial. Lieutenant Aristizabal, a Peruvian, was condemned to be shot. His last exclamations were, that he died to serve his country. A guerrilla chief, named Ninavilca, and several others, who had all fled, were condemned, *par contumace*, to be strangled, in contravention of the decree passed on the 3d of January, 1822, by which that mode of punishment was abolished. Colonel Vidal, whose courage, activity, and military talents, as well as excellent private character for probity and the purest patriotism, have always been thrown too much in the shade by his natural diffidence, escaped to the interior; but he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to ten years' exile. Others were condemned in like manner to similar punishments. Admiral Guise was tried, but acquitted. Every Buenos-Ayrean or Chileno resident in Peru, was ordered by the Council of Government to present himself in the capital. Generals Necochea and Correa, Colonels Estomba and Raulet, and many highly respectable merchants, (among whom was Don Juan José Sarratea, known for his patriotism from the very commencement of the Buenos-Ayrean revolution,) were ordered to quit the country. Necochea indignantly sent in his commission as a general of Peru, and some bills which had been given to him in payment of a grant in reward for past services; declaring, that he would carry nothing from Peru but his wounds. The Council of Government coolly received the resignation and the bills, but had not the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of General Necochea's letter inclosing them.

"The affairs of Peru were again enveloped in gloom; and persons of property and friends to tran-

quillity became exceedingly apprehensive of the return of anarchy. These alarms were considerably augmented, among a numerous class, by the announcement of Bolivar's second determination to quit the country. He had fixed on the 13th of August for the day of his departure. The most frightful tumults were foreboded; and it was said, that Government would be reduced to a chaos. The public mind continued in a state of fearful excitement from the morning of the 13th until the evening of the 16th. The advocates for the formation of a *strong government*, used every argument in their power to induce his Excellency to alter his professed determination, and employed all their influence to prevail upon the people to second their wishes." *

If credit may be given to the florid statements of the Lima journalists, the municipality, the army, the church, all the bodies corporate, the matrons of the city, the peasantry of the provinces, all with one accord, by deputations and petitions, implored the Liberator to remain with them, in terms of the grossest adulation; and when at length he yielded to their importunities, loud acclamations filled the city, the church bells were set ringing, and kept up their thundering harmony all night, while a grand ball concluded the dramatic scene.† On the following morning, the electoral college of the province and that of the city of Lima resolved, that the Bolivian constitution should be adopted in Peru, and that Bolivar

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 340—345.

† The performers in this farce, Mr. Miller says, were rewarded in proportion to their utility and subserviency. "With the exception of the praise uttered by those immediately dependent upon the smiles of the Liberator, it may be confidently asserted, that not one grain of sincerity was mingled with the flatteries which saluted the ear of His Excellency at that truly histrionic exhibition."

should be named *Presidente Vitalicio.* Their example was followed by the other provincial colleges, with the exception of that of Tarapaca. Bolivar, now President for life elect, had received despatches, however, from Bogota, informing him that General Paez had refused to obey the orders of the Executive Government; and he determined upon returning to adjust these unhappy differences. A farewell entertainment was given on the 2d of September; and the next day, Bolivar sailed for Guayaquil, leaving Santa Cruz at the head of the government, and reached Bogota on the 14th of November.

We must now leave the Peruvians for a while in the enjoyment of the Code Bolivar, while we advert to the circumstances which so peremptorily required the return of the Liberator to Colombia.

Neither Venezuela nor Quito had ever very cordially united in the constitution of the Colombian Republic; and the Executive Government at Bogota, aware of this lurking dissatisfaction, had taken the utmost pains to conciliate the inhabitants of the eastern provinces more especially, as well as the most judicious precautions against any disturbance of the public tranquillity. Notwithstanding the disaffection which vented itself, through the medium of the press, in acrimonious attacks upon the Bogota Government and Legislature, all went on pretty quietly, till, in 1824, the Executive issued a decree (agreeably to the provision of the first congress in 1821) for a general enlistment, in the militia, of all citizens between the ages of sixteen and fifty. In eleven of the departments, the decree was carried into execution without exciting any symptom of repugnance. In Venezuela alone, it encountered opposition of the most determined character; and General Paez, the Governor of

the department, had at length recourse to calling in a military patrole, in order to compel the citizens to submit to be enrolled. Of this violent exercise of arbitrary power, as it was deemed, the intendant and municipality of Caracas made indignant and exaggerated representations to the Congress; and in a transport of zeal for the liberties of the people, the legislative body thought proper, without further evidence, to institute an impeachment against the General. On receiving the order, with notice of his consequent suspension from command, Paez was thrown into a transport of anger; but, in letters addressed to persons of distinction at Bogota, he declared his determination to yield obedience to the Legislature, and he apparently betook himself to making preparations for his departure to the capital. The intelligence, however, excited at Valencia, where Paez appears to have been especially popular, a strong sensation, which was probably worked upon by secret agitators. The issue was a popular tumult. The people filled the air with cries of *Viva Paez!* and rushing to the General's house, conducted him to the assembled municipality, where he was, by acclamation, invested with the authority of military chief, which he accepted. Whatever secret influence he acted under, or whatever were his original intentions, by accepting a command thus illegally tendered, he placed himself in open resistance to the constituted authorities of the Republic. As a pretext for these proceedings, the insurgents of Valencia, identifying themselves with the anti-constitutional party in Venezuela, declared their aim to be, the promotion of reforms in the constitution. The municipality of Caracas precipitately confirmed the act of Valencia; and, from a dread (as is supposed) of the insurgent soldiery, other towns followed the example. An assembly of delegates from

various *cabildos* of Venezuela and Apure, subsequently met at Valencia, declared Paez innocent of the crime for which he was impeached, and proposed a grand convention. Paez, meanwhile, made arrangements for withstanding any attack from the Government; uniformly declaring, however, that he should act wholly on the defensive, and appealing to Bolivar as the great mediator and umpire to accommodate all the national differences. In his public manifestoes, he charged the Congress with having wantonly precipitated a revolution by admitting of his impeachment. He removed the regular officers commanding at Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, appointing partisans of his own in their stead, and raising new troops; thus, in effect, holding military occupation of Venezuela.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Bogota, the Vice-president, with exemplary discretion, began by addressing a confidential letter to Paez, urging upon him the criminality of his conduct. This proving ineffectual, he issued a manifesto, containing a complete vindication of the course taken by the Executive. But, reluctant to appeal to the decision of arms, the Central Government seemed disposed, like the Venezuelans, to refer the dispute to Bolivar, whose return from Peru was now earnestly demanded.

Matters remained nearly in this state for several months. Cumana, Barcelona, Maracaybo, Cartagena, and Margarita, successively declared in favour of Paez and of a federal union. General Bermudez, however, who commanded in the department of Orinoco, issued a proclamation denouncing the movements of the insurgents; and being joined by the battalion of Apure, which had deserted Paez, he prepared to invest Cumana, in order to enforce the authority of the laws, but was repulsed. At Truxillo, a slight conflict took

place between the garrison and a party of the soldiers of Paez. But all parties seemed averse to commencing hostilities, and for the most part declared their willingness to abide by the decision of Bolivar.

The personal influence of this extraordinary man must, indeed, be singularly great, according to the representation given of the effects of his appearance, making every allowance for a general willingness to see public tranquillity restored. On arriving at Bogota, he entered upon the exercise of the extraordinary powers with which the constitution invested the President, in cases of interior commotion threatening the security of the Republic. "To re-establish the financial credit of the state, by directly reducing the expenditure, and by introducing sundry changes in the civil and military administration of the government with that view, was," we are told, "the first act of his discretionary authority. Remaining but a few days at Bogota, he hastened to the immediate scene of convulsion, followed by a numerous suite, but with nothing deserving the name of a military force. He issued decrees in all the principal towns, enjoining a cessation of hostilities, and obedience to the constituted authorities; and was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of enthusiastic welcome. On Bolivar's arrival at Maracaybo, Puerto Cabello, Valencia, and Caracas, successively, every vestige of insurrection disappeared before him. He reached Valencia at the end of the year; and early in January, fixed his head-quarters at Caracas. Assuming the immediate government of the departments of Venezuela, Apure, Orinoco, and Zulia, he proclaimed an amnesty for all things done or said with reference to reform, guaranteeing to protect the persons, property, and offices of individuals, notwithstanding their having

been engaged in that cause, and pledging himself to convoke a great national convention, in order to determine the fate of the Republic. To put a finishing hand to the work of pacification, he recognised Paez as superior chief of Venezuela, and General Mariño as commandant-general of Maturin. With these events, all the signs of approaching civil war and violent political convulsion, terminated."*

On his return to the capital, His Excellency endeavoured to procure the adoption of his favourite code by the Colombians, in order that it might, according to the language of its advocates, extend from Potosi to the Orinoco. The grand confederacy of Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia under one supreme president, began to be talked of as an event close at hand. But the *Code Boliviano* was as unpopular in Colombia as in Peru; and the attempt to introduce it, has hitherto been equally unsuccessful.†

On the 9th of December, 1826, the anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho, the ceremony of swearing to the Bolivian constitution was observed throughout the provinces of Peru, in pursuance of a decree of the Council of Government. But the genuine expression of popular feeling could not longer be smothered by the efforts of the public authorities. The new-fangled code was scarcely less disliked by the Colombian troops

* N. Amer. Review, No. lvi. art. "*Insurrection of Paez.*" As this article is compiled from documents published at Bogota and Valencia, we have deemed it, at least as regards the facts, good authority. Paez is a mulatto, and has been aptly styled the Blucher of the Colombians.

† "The democratic party," says Mr. Miller, "considered that the *Presidente Vitalicio* was in effect an elective monarch, with the additional power of nominating his successor; a principle diametrically opposite to that which Bolivar professed to act upon throughout the struggle for Independence."

in Peru, than by the Peruvians. No sooner was Bolivar gone, than this spirit manifested itself; and the Peruvians began to devise measures for getting rid of the system and the Colombians together. Colonel Bustamante, a young Colombian, commenced the revolt, by repairing, with a party whom he had engaged in his enterprise, on the night of the 26th of January, 1827, to the quarters of Generals Lara and Sands, and arresting them in their beds, together with such other Colombian chiefs as they deemed inimical to their plans. Lara had been forewarned of the plot, but had totally discredited the report. Bustamante, having chartered a vessel, shipped off the arrested officers for Guayaquil. The immediate effect of this bold measure was, the resignation of the ministers; and a new ministry was formed; but Santa Cruz (who happened to be out of Lima at the time) was continued at the head of affairs. In the ministerial journals which announced this change, Bolivar was spoken of with respect; but applause was bestowed upon the resolution of the new administration to prevent *foreign* interference in Peruvian affairs.

The Government were now impatiently desirous that the Colombian troops should quit Peru altogether. The principal difficulty in effecting this, arose from want of money, as it was necessary to pay them all arrears before they could be embarked. By great exertions, 200,000 dollars were scraped together, three-fourths of which were distributed among the troops, and the remainder was employed to defray the expenses of conveying them by sea to Guayaquil, to which place they all sailed with Colonel Bustamante, in March 1827.

The people of Peru now almost unanimously declared, that the Bolivian Code had been forced upon them, and that the electoral colleges had not powers to

decide upon its adoption, it being the province of a general congress alone to determine upon the form of government by which the country should be ruled. Orders were issued for the election of deputies for a new congress, which assembled at Lima on the 4th of June. The Bolivian constitution was now disdainfully flung aside; and General La Mar* was elected President of the Republic, with Don Manuel Salazar y Baquijano as Vice-president. The nomination of La Mar, Mr. Miller says, gave universal satisfaction, and was hailed as an auspicious event. Unfortunately, led away by his wish to conciliate all parties, "he lent too ready an ear to the noisy declamations of certain learned orators," who counselled the assuming a formidable military attitude, in order to prevent the encroachments of Colombia. Instead of reducing the standing army, and thereby bringing the expenditure within the public resources, La Mar unwisely augmented it to 12,000 men; a number which absorbed the revenues, and gave rise to all kinds of oppression and extortion.

* La Mar is a native of Guayaquil, but was educated in Spain. In 1793, he served with credit as lieutenant in the campaign of Roussillon. In 1808, Major La Mar was one of the heroic defenders of Saragossa, where he was wounded. He afterwards commanded a grenadier column in the province of Valencia. In 1814, he was advanced to the rank of brigadier; and in 1816, set out for Lima, with the appointment of inspector-general of the army of Peru. After capitulating at Callao, he sent in his resignation to the Viceroy. "President La Mar," says Mr. Miller, "is a man of cultivated mind, of mild, persuasive, and refined manners; he is much beloved and highly respected; and has no personal, and very few political enemies. Perhaps, the only defect in his political character is the trait of occasional indecision. He is fifty years of age, and has lately had the misfortune to lose a most amiable wife, sister to H. E. Señor Don Vicente Rocafuerte, the Mexican envoy.

These measures, however, it soon appeared, were but preparatory to the commencement of actual hostilities, for which the menaces of Colombia might furnish a plea, but in which the Peruvians appear to have been actually the aggressors.* The desire of

* In a furious proclamation, issued by General La Mar, dated Tambo Grande, October 12, 1828, he attempts to lay the blame of the aggression upon the Liberator personally, whom he stigmatizes as "the sworn enemy of Peruvian independence, the violater of our national rights; the only man who proclaims despotism on the continent of America." "General Bolivar," continues the Peruvian President, addressing his soldiers, "has dared to declare war against us, his presence on the frontiers being to serve as a signal for the combat. You will conquer the arrogant slaves who accompany him on so fratricidal an enterprise; you will revenge the outrages offered to your honour, the insults heaped upon the Republic," &c. In the *Colombia Gazette* of November 9, this conduct on the part of La Mar is justly reprobated as utterly unbecoming the chief magistrate of a nation. "To content himself with calling him tyrant, who gave liberty to Peru, and with laying the blame of the aggression upon Colombia and Bolivia, when the occupation of the latter and of our frontiers by the Peruvian troops, is still so recent, is the greatest immorality of which a Government can be capable. We can assert, that, to the well-known intentions of Peru to subjugate Bolivia, General Sucre opposed only the precautionary measures which his duty dictated; and we can clearly disprove the intention attributed to both Republics, of uniting in a war against Peru, by the single fact, that, at the very time when this combination would have taken effect, our Government had considerably reduced the army of the south." One of the most curious documents that have appeared in the Colombian papers, is a proclamation from Riva Aguero, dated Santiago, September 12, 1828, in which he announces his intention to come to their aid as their legitimate president. In this proclamation, he refers to the treacherous defection of Torre Tagle and his other enemies;—remarks, that Peru would still have been Spain's, had not the genius of Bolivar interposed;—and tells the Peruvians, that the men who at that time endeavoured to sell their country to the common enemy, are the same who had now engaged them in an iniquitous struggle with a warlike nation. "The war you are waging against Colombia, is impolitic, and will cover you with ignominy. The personal complaints of General La Mar are not just

taking possession of Guayaquil, and of rendering it a Peruvian port, appears to have been one motive for their declaring war. There were, however, other grounds of dispute. The principal one on the part of Colombia, was the non-payment of the debt due from Peru, amounting to about 3,595,000 dollars. But the foundations of the dispute were more deeply laid in personal animosities and national jealousy. The hatred of the Peruvians to the Colombians is represented, by Mr. Miller, to be not less strong, and perhaps more unanimous, than that which they once entertained for the Spaniards.

On the declaration of war on the part of Peru, Bolivar marched to Popayan with 10,000 men, 3000 of whom he despatched to Guayaquil, to defend that place against the expected attack of the Peruvian squadron under Admiral Guise; but, on the 21st of January, 1828, the city appears to have surrendered to the Peruvian Admiral. The army now entered the Colombian territory; and at Tarqui, near Jiron, in Quito, a sanguinary conflict took place, on the 25th of February, in which, after a gallant resistance, a considerable portion of the Peruvian army was destroyed. On the following day, preliminaries of peace were agreed to between the commissioners chosen on either side, the terms of which reflect great honour upon the moderation and equity of the conquerors. The chief stipulations are: That the military forces in the north of Peru shall be reduced to the footing of garrisons; that commissioners shall determine the limits of the two states, on the basis of the political division of the

causes for war. He blinds you: do not confide in his hypocritical discourses. Sheath your parricidal swords." Mr. Miller states, that it was at the invitation of Riva Aguero, that Bolivar took the command of all the military forces in Peru.

viceroyalties of New Granada and Lima, in August 1809; that the Peruvian Government shall discharge its debt to the Colombian army engaged in the war of Peruvian independence; that neither Republic shall interfere in the form of government or domestic affairs of the other, and that the independence of the Bolivian Republic shall be respected by both; and that, as soon as the treaty of peace shall be ratified, the Government of the United States of North America shall be solicited to guarantee the fulfilment of its stipulations in the character of mediator.*

Not content with expelling the Colombian troops from their own territory, the Government of Lima had lent their aid to an anti-Colombian party in Bolivia, in bringing about a revolution in that Republic. Although General Sucre had been chosen President of Bolivia by the spontaneous voice of the people, legitimately expressed by Congress; and although his proposal to retain 2000 Colombian troops for two years, was also assented to by that same Congress; the pride of the Bolivians was mortified by the presence of foreign troops, and they determined to accelerate the departure of their liberators. It is said to have been comparatively a small party, however, most of whom had some personal motives for their dislike to the Colombians, with whom the conspiracy origi-

* This treaty is given in the *Times* of June 22d, 1829, with the ratification of General Sucre, "Grand Marshal of Ayacucho," as "Superior Chief of the South of Colombia," and General La Mar, as President of Peru. The signature of the former is accompanied with the following remarkable explanation: "Desirous of giving a distinguished testimony and incontestable proof that the Colombian Government is adverse to war, that it loves the people of Peru, and has no wish to abuse the victory obtained, to humiliate Peru, or to take any part of the Peruvian territory, I hereby approve, confirm, and ratify this treaty.

(Signed) ANTONIO JOSE SUCRE."

nated, and who invited the aid of the Peruvian Government to assist them in bringing about the revolution. A force was accordingly sent under Colonel Gamarra, to co-operate with the malcontents; an act which reflects deep disgrace upon the Lima Government, and for which they have been justly punished. "Sucre made a gallant defence, and even after receiving a dangerous wound in the arm, he persevered with redoubled energy. In contending for his rights, he ceded his ground by inches, until, abandoned and overpowered, he capitulated and embarked for his own country. Thus fell," remarks Mr. Miller, "the Conqueror of Ayacucho; but his descent from power was marked by a dignity of conduct worthy of his elevated character." * On arriving off Callao, he generously tendered his offices for attempting a settlement of the differences between the Peruvian and Colombian Governments. The offer was probably unwelcome, as well as too late. On his arrival in Quito, he was named by Bolivar, Superior Chief of the Departments of Southern Colombia; in which capacity he enjoyed the magnanimous revenge of dictating the terms of an equitable pacification to the defeated Peruvians.

While these changes were taking place in Bolivia and Peru, a formidable conspiracy in Colombia threatened, not only the power, but the life of the Liberator. The real character and objects of the plot are but imperfectly known; but it appears to have been the last desperate effort of a republican faction, to

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 364. In an admirable letter to the Peruvian President, dated, "Off Callao, September 10, 1828," (given by Mr. Miller,) the General uses these remarkable expressions: "God grant that I may not be revenged by events and the struggle of pretensions between the very persons that have offended me."

whom the person and the measures of Bolivar were alike odious. At the head of the conspiracy were the ex-general Padilla, and the ex-vice president Santander. The latter had already incurred the sentence of virtual banishment to North America, for treasonable machinations; and he is said to have desired, that the execution of the plot might be delayed till after his arrival in the United States, whence he might return if required.* The conspirators, however, having some suspicion that their designs had been betrayed, fixed on the night of the 25th of September for making their diabolical attempt; and Bolivar appears to have been indebted for his narrow escape to the courage and fidelity of his attendants. Colonels Ferguson and Bolivar† fell in repelling the assassins. Almost immediately afterwards, Padilla is stated to have embraced the Liberator, in the great square of Bogota, congratulating him on his escape. His co-operation in the execrable plot was, however, clearly proved, and he met with his deserved fate on the scaffold, together with the other principal culprits.‡ Santander

* According to the declarations of Colonel Carreo and Florentino Gonzales, two of the conspirators, as well as others, while in prison.

† This officer was no relation of the Liberator's, but both he and Ferguson were much esteemed for bravery, and the latter is said to have been highly appreciated by Bolivar, who made him one of his aides-de-camp. He was a native of Ireland.

‡ Among those who suffered, occur the names of Guerra, Sylva, a commandant of artillery, Zuliva, Professor Azuerro, and Hounent. Florentino Gonzales was condemned to ten years' imprisonment *in presidio*. A milder sentence of exile was passed upon the culprits, Carrejo, Ejeguire, Roxas, Diego Gomez, Arevedes, Mendoza, Bueiro, and Agalindo. Besides these, Colonel Obando, one of the ringleaders, escaped, and put himself at the head of some banditti in Popayan; but they were soon dispersed by a party of troops. Santander is said to have carried on a secret correspondence with Obando, and through him to have instigated the Government of Peru to take up arms against Bolivar.

also was condemned to death by the council of war, of which General Urdaneta was president. The Liberator, however, who was delicately situated with regard to General Santander from known personal animosities, was resolved to give him every possible opportunity for his benefit that the laws afforded, and transmitted the sentence for revision to his council of ministers. This high judiciary court commuted the sentence of death for degradation and banishment for life; and the Liberator signed his approval instantly. The reasons publicly assigned by the Council for their lenity towards the arch-conspirator, are somewhat singular, and deserve to be recorded.

"The crime meditated and attempted to be carried into execution was, most certainly, of unutterable atrocity; but, not having been consummated nor followed by the fatal consequences which it might have produced, the shedding of more blood could not now be productive of any salutary effect, but might perhaps rather excite more horror at the punishment than at the crime itself. In such a case, the just moderation of the Government, mercy, the lively desire of re-establishing peace and confidence, and many other considerations not unknown to the Liberator, ought to soften the rigour of justice, and present to the world the contrast of the clemency of a highly offended Government, with the enormity of the crimes of its offenders. If the same proofs of co-operation in the conspiracy of the night of the 25th, existed against General Santander as existed against the defunct ex-general Padilla, the Council would not hesitate a moment in advising the Liberator President to order the sentence pronounced by the district court-martial on the 7th current to be carried into execution. But, as

such proofs do not exist, as the above circumstances have some weight, and as General Santander has proved that he prevented the assassination of the Liberator, which was intended to have been effected in the town of Suacha on the 21st of September; and as it has been clearly made to appear that such assassination was actually contemplated, and did not take place on that day; the Council are of opinion, that the Government would do better to commute the punishment of death into deprivation of office and banishment from the dominions of the Republic, with a prohibition never again to put his foot upon his native soil, without the special permission of the Supreme Government; under condition that, in case he should at any time act contrary to the above prohibition, the punishment of death shall be inflicted upon him by any judge or military chief of the place where he may be apprehended; and that his estates shall be held as it were in trust by the Government, without his having the power to sell, mortgage, or in any way encumber them, in order that they may serve as a pledge of security for his not breaking the aforesaid prohibition, and that they may be confiscated in case he should do so; and also, that, in the mean time, the culprit be allowed to live upon the produce of the said estates. By this proceeding, the Council are of opinion, that the ends of justice will be fulfilled, that the Government will secure the love, admiration, and respect of the people, and, as a necessary consequence, the peace and confidence of the citizens."

According to concurring accounts, Bolivar appears to have conducted himself throughout this painful and trying crisis with signal magnanimity; and his popularity has been naturally augmented by this atrocious

attempt upon his person. This seems the proper place for introducing a brief notice of the life and character of this truly illustrious personage.

Simon Bolivar was born in the city of Caracas, July 24, 1783. His father was D. Juan Vicente Bolivar y Ponte, who held the hereditary office of *regidor alferez real* in the municipality of Caracas; and his mother was Doña Maria Concepcion Palacios y Sojo. He was left an orphan at a very early age. In his sixteenth year, he embarked for Spain, with a view to complete his education; and after finishing his studies at Madrid, he made the tour of France and Italy. On his return to Madrid, he married a lady of one of the first families in Spanish America, the daughter of Don N. Toro, uncle of the Marquess of Toro, in Caracas. But his domestic happiness was of brief duration. He returned with his lady to Caracas, where, a few months after her arrival, she sickened of the yellow fever, and died. To relieve his feelings from the pressure of grief, Bolivar again repaired to Europe, and was present at the coronation of Napoleon. He returned to Caracas, visiting the United States in his way, about the same time that his friend D. Vicente Emparan arrived there as captain-general of Venezuela, to which office he had been appointed, first by King Joseph, and afterwards by the Central Junta of Seville. Soon after the raising of the standard of Independence, in April 1810, Bolivar received from the Junta the rank of colonel, and was sent, together with D. Luis Lopez Mendez, to solicit the protection of Great Britain for the newly formed government. He was well received by the Marquess Wellesley, then secretary for foreign affairs; and the British Government offered its mediation between Spain and her colonies; but the offer was rejected by the Court of

Madrid, and Great Britain maintained a perfect neutrality. Bolivar returned to his own country in company with General Miranda, who was placed in command of the Venezuelan troops; and he served as a member of his staff till the unhappy capitulation of July 1812. His subsequent career has already been traced, from his arrival at Cartagena, in September 1812, up to the complete liberation of Colombia in 1822. On the 16th of June, in that year, the Liberator entered Quito, where his attention was soon attracted to the discontents which had arisen at Guayaquil. His Excellency proceeded to that town, and, under his auspices, the provisional Government annexed the province to Colombia; a measure, however, to which the inhabitants seem never to have been cordially reconciled. The Colombians have always been extremely unpopular there, as well as generally throughout Quito; and ultimately, both Quito and its port will probably be incorporated with Peru.

"The person of Bolivar," says Mr. Miller, "is thin, and somewhat below the middle size. He dresses in good taste, and has an easy military walk. He is a bold rider, and capable of undergoing great fatigue. His manners are good, and his address unaffected, but not very prepossessing. It is said, that, in his youth, he was rather handsome. His complexion is sallow; his hair, originally very black, is now mixed with gray. His eyes are dark and penetrating, but generally downcast or turned askance, when he speaks; his nose is well formed; his forehead high and broad; the lower part of his face is sharp; the expression of the countenance is care-worn, lowering, and sometimes rather fierce. His temper, spoiled by adulation, is fiery and capricious. His opinions of men and things are variable. He is rather prone to personal

abuse, but makes ample amends to those who will put up with it. Towards such, his resentments are not lasting. He is a passionate admirer of the fair sex, but jealous to excess. He is fond of waltzing, and is a very quick, but not a very graceful dancer. His mind is of the most active description. When not more stirringly employed, he is always reading, dictating letters, &c., or conversing. His voice is loud and harsh, but he speaks eloquently on most subjects. His reading has been principally confined to French authors; hence the Gallic idioms so common in his productions. He is an *impressive* writer, but his style is vitiated by an affectation of grandeur.* Speaking so well as he does, it is not wonderful that he should be more fond of hearing himself talk, than of listening to others, and apt to engross conversation in the society he receives. He entertains numerously; and no one has more skilful cooks, or gives better dinners; but he is himself so very abstemious in both eating and drinking, that he seldom takes his place at his own table until the repast is nearly over, having pro-

* On this subject, a writer in the *North American Review* makes the following just remarks: "Strange as it is, we frequently observe faults of taste, nay, dishonest motives, imputed to Bolivar, solely in consequence of the peculiar nature of his vernacular tongue. The chief characteristic of the Spanish language is a spirit of dignity and grandeur. It delights in hyperbole. It deals in picturesque, imaginative expressions. Its inherent vice, therefore, is a tendency to exaggeration. Hence, when we peruse the proclamations and addresses of their public men in poor translations, bald without truth, and literal without exactness, we do extreme injustice to their authors by recurring, for an object of comparison, to the majestic simplicity of our best models. We, moreover, who enjoy the comparatively phlegmatic temperament congenial to the colder zones, should consider the excited feelings of the ardent inhabitants of the South,—

'Souls made of fire, and children of the sun.'"

—North Amer. Rev., No. lvi. p. 112.

bably dined in private upon a plain dish or two. He is fond of giving toasts, which he always prefaces in the most eloquent and appropriate manner; and his enthusiasm is so great, that he frequently mounts his chair, or the table, to propose them. Although the cigar is almost universally used in South America, Bolivar never smokes, nor does he permit smoking in his presence. He is never without proper officers in waiting, and keeps up a considerable degree of etiquette. Disinterested in the extreme, with regard to pecuniary affairs, he is insatiably covetous of fame. Bolivar invariably speaks of England, of her institutions, and of her great men, in terms of admiration. He often dwells with great warmth upon the constancy, fidelity, and sterling merit of the English officers who have served in the cause of Independence, under every varying event of the war. A further proof of his predilection towards England is, that he has always had upon his personal staff, a number of British subjects." *

This portrait has the merit of distinctness, and can hardly be considered as flattering. It is defective, however, in leaving unexplained the personal gifts, the seductive or commanding qualities, to which the Liberator owes his popularity and ascendancy. It is utterly incredible, that Bolivar should so long have retained the distinguished station to which he has been elevated, while he has had to contend with such powerful rivals and such subtle and

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 331, 332. His first aide-de-camp, Colonel O'Leary, is a nephew of the celebrated Father O'Leary, who, at the age of seventeen, embarked in the cause of South American Independence. Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, already mentioned, was another. A third aide-de-camp is Lieutenant-Colonel Belford Wilson, son of Sir Robert Wilson. The surgeon who constantly attends Bolivar, is Dr. Moore, an Irishman.

malignant enemies,—that a whole nation should with enthusiasm recognize his title of Liberator,—that he should be deferred to by contending factions as an umpire,—were he possessed of no extraordinary qualities to command admiration. Like San Martin, he has had, in this country as well as in his own, his virulent detractors, who would represent him as aspiring to be "a second Bonaparte, without possessing a single talent for the duties of either the field or the cabinet."* Perhaps, the following remarks upon Bolivar's character, by a French Traveller, M. Mollien, who visited the Republic in 1822, will throw some light upon the qualities to which he owes his greatness.

"The management of his troops was the great art of Bolivar. His partisans, in their enthusiasm, have compared him to Cæsar, but he much more nearly resembles Sertorius. Like him, he had to reduce a savage people to obedience, and to combat a powerful and experienced nation. The places of contest were nearly alike; for there were, in this portion of America, the same difficulties to surmount, in the badness of the roads and the height of the mountains, as existed in Spain, in the time of Sertorius. Like him, Bolivar disconcerted his enemies by the rapidity of his marches, by the suddenness of his attacks, and by the celerity of his retreats, which rendered it easy for him to repair his defeats at a distance. In the mountains, he displayed the same activity as in the plains; and he set an example of sobriety and temperance to his troops, whose numbers he thus increased from those of a small band, until they formed a powerful and irre-

* These expressions, and others more virulent, occur in Hippisley's Narrative of the Expedition to the Orinoco. (London, 1819.) Pp. 464, 524, 527.

sistible army. If his military tactics were different from those of the Spaniards, his conduct was still more so. He knew how to gain the affections of mankind, by pardoning the vanquished and those who had deserted the cause of their country: thus he increased their numbers. The priests even did not refuse him their prayers, for he respected their ministry, which had often been despised by the Spaniards since their wars with the French; and finally, by flattering the pride of the Americans, in constantly extolling their valour and intelligence, he, by these encomiums, rendered the disdain with which the Spaniards treated them, still more insupportable.....His disinterestedness is greatly extolled, his income being principally devoted to the payment of the pensions which he allows to the widows and children of the soldiers who have fallen in battle.

"Although his education has been much neglected, a residence of some length in Europe had given to him a taste for languages and history, in which he made a rapid progress. He has already been compared to Sertorius; and, in fact, his manner of making war, his long marches to come up with the enemy, together with the quickness with which he traverses immense distances, give the idea of a bold partisan, rather than of a general competent to the wielding of large masses. Two thousand more men would probably have embarrassed his plans.

"Nor is he supposed to possess more profound views in the art of governing. He has hitherto contented himself with founding a republic, which is but a bad imitation of that of the United States, and which he can maintain only by a standing army. This is chiefly composed of herdsmen, who followed him from the plains to the heights of Santa Fé. It is in this por-

tion of his troops that he places his chief confidence; and, as the greater part of them belong to the caste of Mulattoes, he is obliged to pay them great attention, and to conciliate them by frequent rewards.*

"A happy chance has hitherto rendered him invulnerable. His enemies therefore say that he possesses no courage; but can this be the case with him who aspires to the supreme government? He is not wanting in eloquence, for his speeches possess great warmth of sentiment, though they are often diffuse; but this, it must be admitted, is a fault difficult to be avoided in the Spanish language." †

In discriminating between the inhabitants of the Cordillera and those of the plains, this Writer observes, that "those of Caracas, in particular, appear to be characterized by vivacity and even self-conceit, when compared with the native of Bogota, who seems to be endowed with a fund of simplicity and good sense." Bolivar is a Venezuelan.

"One great and rare virtue belonging to the character of Bolivar," remarks Colonel Hamilton, "is his thorough disinterestedness and the little regard he pays to himself under the most severe privations; always anxious to share what he has with his companions in arms, even to his last shirt. It is a well-known fact, that he is at this time a poorer man than when first the civil war broke out. He had then some of the finest estates in the neighbourhood of Caracas, cultivated by slaves, producing excellent cocoa, tobacco, and indigo. He gave liberty to almost all his slaves, making only one condition, that they should not serve against the cause of Independence.

* Padilla was a Mulatto, originally a pilot of Cartagena, afterwards raised to the command of a flotilla.

† Mollien's Travels in Colombia, (London, 1824.) pp. 145, 152.

Most of the Negroes entered the Colombian service, and proved excellent soldiers. Bolivar's determined perseverance, under the most disheartening circumstances; his skill, ability, and dexterity in amalgamating the different materials which now form the state of Colombia; his courage and coolness in action; and his prudence and foresight in seizing instantaneously all the advantages to be derived from victory; cannot be too much admired. He is rather hasty in his temper, and frequently, on these occasions, makes use of intemperate expressions, for which he is afterwards extremely sorry and anxious to make atonement to the person whose feelings may have been wounded. But revenge was never harboured in the bosom of this great man."*

Mr. Thomson, Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, who had an interview with the Liberator at Lima, in December 1823, speaks of his Excellency in the following terms. "He is in appearance a very modest, unassuming man; very active and intelligent; but I could not read any thing of an extraordinary nature in his countenance. He has not the eye of San Martin, whose glance would pierce you through in a moment. Bolivar's weather-beaten face tells you that he has not been idle." † Several instances are given of Bolivar's enlightened zeal in the cause of education. During his stay in Peru, a college of friars at Ocopa, near Huanuco, was, by his authority, transformed into a seminary for the education of youth on the British system; ‡ and a few months

* Hamilton's Colombia, vol. i. pp. 230—234. Bolivar being at the time in Peru, Colonel Hamilton had not the good fortune of becoming personally acquainted with him.

† Thomson, p. 105.

‡ The Dominican college of St. Thomas, at Lima, had previously

afterwards, he issued a decree for establishing a central school in the capital of each province throughout Peru. In pursuance of another decree, two young men from each province were sent to this country, to be educated at the expense of Government, that they might return to act as directors of these institutions. The sum of 20,000 dollars has also been appropriated by Bolivar to the promotion of schools in his native city. These patriotic traits of character indicate, that it is not upon the sword that the Liberator relies for establishing the freedom of South America.

Bolivar has been compared with Bonaparte and with Washington; in neither case with much fairness or propriety, except as he may be regarded as the hero of the South American Revolution, as the latter was of the North American, and the former of the French. The points of contrast are, however, more striking than those of resemblance. Of Napoleon, Bolivar has been suspected to be an imitator; but if so, it is of the brighter parts of his character, as a legislator and the friend of his soldiers. The Code Napoleon may have inspired the Liberator with his passionate desire to give a Bolivian Constitution to the emancipated states, and to be the Numa as well as Romulus of his Republic. Nor ought this pardonable ambition or vanity, which, after all, may blend itself with an honest desire to promote the true interests of the country, to be imputed to the lust of power, a guilty aspiring after universal dominion. As justly might Jeremy Bentham be charged with aiming at the conquest of Colombia by his "*Codification proposals*" to its Government. Were it even proved, that, like San Martin, he is inclined to monarchical, rather

been converted into a central school during the government of San Martin.

than to democratic principles,—that he would deem the British constitution better adapted to South America, than that of the North American Federacy,—this would not prove him to be a tyrant or a usurper. "It is true," remarks an American writer, "that the constitution which he made for Bolivia, and which, it is fully understood, he desires to introduce into Peru and Colombia, however judiciously it may be devised in some points, is, in its main features, anti-republican, if not absurd and impolitic. But all this may be said without necessarily impugning Bolivar's motives as a patriot. He may be true to his country, and yet be the author of a very defective constitution." *

* North American Review, No. lvi. p. 110. In No. liii. of this ably conducted journal, is given an analytical and comparative view of the Constitution of Colombia, as agreed upon by the Congress of Cucuta in 1821. In many of its great features, it resembles that of the United States; and some of its most valuable provisions are copied almost literally from it. But there is one point, this Writer remarks, in which the respective forms of government differ so essentially, that they cannot be considered as even entitled to a common name. "The government of the United States is a confederacy of states, each reserving to itself unlimited powers of legislation on most local subjects, and on all subjects, of which the control has not been clearly surrendered, and maintaining distinct local legislatures for the exercise of those powers; they have also their executive and judiciary in full exercise of the ordinary functions of those departments. The government of Colombia is central or consolidated. All the powers of legislation are confided to a single central legislature. The republic is divided into departments, and has also smaller subdivisions for the more convenient internal administration; but every officer is indebted for his authority, and owes responsibility, to the great central power residing in the national metropolis." "From the (first) idea of independent governments almost as numerous as the provinces, the revolutionists have gone successively, under the sense of the necessity of concert, through all the intermediate stages, to the adoption of a central government, and have suppressed all kind of authority not flowing from it." The Federalist party in Colombia is, however, nu-

On the other hand, it is too soon to style Bolivar the Washington of Colombia. Before he can be compared with that truly great man, it has been justly observed, he must not only have resigned the truncheon, but must have exhibited to his countrymen "the graceful and edifying example of a private life corresponding, in dignity and purity, to the glory of his public career, and must have brought his earthly course to an honourable end." We do not see that Bolivar is called upon to do this, or that he would best serve his country by following the example of San Martin, and abdicating a supremacy to which the voice of the country has called him; at least till the talisman of his name shall have lost its power, and he can no longer retain his authority except by political crime. "Many persons among us appear to forget," remarks the eloquent Writer already cited, (himself an American and a republican,) "or never to have regarded, the peculiar character, condition, and language of the people of South America. Accustomed to the regulated movement of our own political establishments, they fail to remember, that our revolution was prepared by more than a century of self-government, under the most propitious circumstances; while the revolution of the South was precipitated by causes out of the control of the colonists, namely, the prostration of Spain at the foot of Napoleon. Our English extraction, our climate, our habits, the similarity of complexion in our free population, the diffusion of knowledge among us, and our perfect familiarity with the routine of government, are striking circumstances, wherein our good fortune is deeply contrasted with the want of it in Spanish America.

merous, and comprises some of the most intelligent statesmen. Which form will ultimately prevail, is a matter of speculation.

When great men have arisen among us, men of commanding intellect, formed to act the part of leaders in the land, they have found the pursuit of virtue and patriotism here, not only coincident with their interest, but consonant to the whole spirit of our institutions. Every thing has impelled them to purity of conduct. Hence, to have betrayed his country in the hour of her trial, has consigned the name of Benedict Arnold almost to a solitary immortality of infamy.

"Not so in Spanish America, where treason has done its worst work, and where the virtuous and high-minded patriot has obstacles without number to struggle against in the path of honourable ambition. A motley population, uneducated, uninitiated into the mysteries of government, suddenly emerging from the tutelage and tyranny of colonial administration, was plunged at once into the frantic contests of revolutionary warfare. That scenes of anarchy and confusion ensued, which persons of desperate fortunes and depraved principles looked to as an opportunity for individual aggrandizement, is no more than we should naturally anticipate. But Providence raises up extraordinary men for extraordinary occasions. Bolivar came forward to control the troubled elements in the South, as Washington had ruled them in the North. And if it be premature now, when Bolivar is in the midst of his career, to unite their fame in the same tribute of grateful veneration, it is equally premature to condemn his cause untried, and hastily to abandon a reputation justly favoured by every friend of freedom."*

The abuse lavished upon Bolivar by the Peruvians, is particularly ungenerous as well as unjust. Up to

* North Amer. Rev., No. lvi. pp. 110, 111.

the time of his leaving Peru, the people overwhelmed him with professions of gratitude, and addressed him in language unsuitable to any being below the Deity. There was, probably, less insincerity in this demonstration of popular enthusiasm, than the fickle transition to opposite feelings might seem to indicate. However this may have been, Bolivar, Mr. Miller remarks, was completely deceived by this means as to the true state of public feeling; and this through "the misrepresentations of interested sycophants possessing or aspiring to office, and, though republicans, ambitious even of titles." "Few individuals," it is added, "have received so copious a share of adulation, and it would have been almost miraculous had Bolivar been altogether proof against it. Those who are most prone to censure him, would probably have grown dizzy long before they had attained to such an eminence." *

The petulant rejection of the Bolivian Constitution by the Peruvians, has evidently been dictated by the spirit of faction; nor does it appear that any less objectionable form of government has hitherto been substituted for it. Bolivia, so far as our present information extends, still retains its name, although we almost hesitate to receive it at present as a geographical denomination. It is impossible to say, what changes in the form of government and in the demarcations of territory may yet take place. While these pages have been passing through the press, intelligence has been received, that the Lima Congress has refused to ratify the treaty of peace between Colombia and Peru; a refusal which, if it does not lead to the dissolution of the legislative body and the downfal of

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 358, 363.

the war faction, threatens to plunge the country into fresh disorders, and to renew the alarming state of oscillation between anarchy and despotism, which is so fatal to the best interests of the country. In Buenos Ayres also, a renewal of sanguinary contentions has taken place, most disheartening to the friends of liberty and social order.*

Still, whatever time may elapse before the waves lash themselves to rest, the storm is past, and these are but the dangers of the calm. Nor let it be thought, that the blood which has drenched the soil of South America, has been shed in vain. If we look merely to the present flimsy institutions and shifting governments that have been substituted for the colonial viceroyalties, or examine the state of the people in general, little may seem to have been gained. Liberty,

* At page 102, it has been stated, that General Dorrego, who succeeded to the government of Buenos Ayres on the resignation of Rivadavia, has been deposed and shot. This took place about the 6th of December, 1828; and was brought about through the ostensible agency of a division of the army lately returned from active operations in the Brazilian territory under General Lavalle. A private letter charges Rivadavia with being the known director of this conspiracy, and ascribes it to the same evil policy which led to the war against Brazil. It certainly wears the apparent character of a military insurrection; and the execution of Dorrego without even a mock trial, in front of the line, was a very violent measure. Lavalle has of course succeeded to the government; and an appointment of ministers has taken place, all of whom were in office under Rivadavia's administration. Among them are D. Francisco de la Cruz, D. Tomas Guido, and General D. Martin de Puerreydon; and General Soler is President of the Council. Rivadavia is on his way to Europe. The provincials and montoneroes took part with Dorrego, and an insurrection fomented by his partisans, broke out in the provinces after his death; a circumstance which would induce unfavourable conclusions regarding the character of Dorrego and his faction; but, upon the true nature of these transactions, it would be premature to pronounce an opinion.

civil or religious,* is at present but little understood; and what has been lost to superstition has, for the most part, been gained by infidelity. But, viewing the present as the parent of the future, in the breaking up and clearing away of the old system, the foundations of which were deep-laid in ignorance and moral bondage, we see the completion of a preparatory process adapted, and certainly designed, to lead to the most beneficent results. The abolition of slavery throughout the South American republics, the emancipation of the native race, the establishment of schools in every province as the result of a general conviction of the evils arising from popular ignorance, and the partial access already obtained for the Holy Scriptures and the literature and moral influence of England,—these are surely circumstances of no insignificant importance, and auguries full of promise as to the coming age,—extraordinary indications of the times, which, to a devout mind, strikingly combine with the substantial import of the Divine predictions. Without laying too much stress upon isolated or particular facts, it may fairly be asked, who, five and twenty years ago, would have ventured to anticipate, that at Bogota, in the heart of the Andes, a Colombian Bible Society should be established in the principal Dominican convent, with the patronage of the Rector and Prior, and the open approbation of the Executive, one of the secretaries being a Dominican friar, formerly secretary to the district tribunal

* Soon after San Martin entered Lima, a provisional law was issued, in which religious toleration was publicly acknowledged, for the first time in South America. This was the act of the Protector alone. The first legislative declaration in favour of religious freedom was issued by the province of San Juan, June 6, 1825, under the government of D. Salvador Carril; and the example was followed by Buenos Ayres.—Thomson, pp. 32, 275.

of the Inquisition ?* or that at Lima, the Dominican college should be appropriated to a Central School, where the New Testament is used as the principal school book ? † Ecclesiastical prejudices and hostile interests still survive, which will, no doubt, struggle hard against the progress of liberty and truth ; but whoever dreams that their march can be arrested, or that the vigorous expansion of the mental energies of a nation, that has burst its ancient bonds, can be repressed and subdued,—may indulge the hope, or fear, that seventeen millions of Americans will be brought again to bow beneath the yoke of Rome and Spain.

The political geography of South America must be regarded as at present in a very imperfect and, as it were, transitive state. The grand divisions, according to the latest authorities, are as follow :—

	Governments.	*Square Miles.*	*Population.*
Spanish America.	1. Republic of Colombia.....	828,000	2,712,000
	2. Republic of Peru	373,000	1,737,000
	3. Republic of Bolivia	310,000	1,200,000
	4. Argentine Republic	683,000	700,000
	5. Republic of Chile.....	129,000	1,200,000
	6. Dictatorship of Paraguay ..	67,000	200,000
			7,749,000
	7. Empire of Brazil	2,313,000	4,000,000
	Add, for French and English Guiana, Arauca, and Patagonia		251,000
			12,000,000‡

* See Thomson's Letters, pp. 252—265. This society was formed March 17, 1825. The President is Don Pedro Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

† *Ib.* p. 282.

‡ Our authorities for this computation are, Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 336 *et seq.* ; "Companion to the Almanack for 1829;" (in which Balbi's "Balance Politique du Globe" has been followed;) and Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. p. xxxvii. Balbi

The total population of the countries formerly included in Spanish America, is thus estimated:—

Republic of Mexico.....	7,500,000
Republic of Central America	1,650,000
South American States.....	7,749,000
	16,899,000

The provincial subdivisions of these territories, it is impossible to give with any precision or certainty, owing, partly, to the complicated system of the old arrangements, and partly, to the changes of nomenclature and jurisdiction which have recently been introduced. The following enumeration, however, will, we believe, be found tolerably correct.

PERU PROPER.

Present Departments.	*Old Divisions.*	
(Maritime.)		
1. Truxillo	Intendancy of Truxillo.	Under the jurisdiction of the *Audiencia* of Lima.
2. Lima.....	,, Lima ..	
3. Arequipa	,, Arequipa	
(Inland.)		
4. Junin	Xauxa.....	
	Tarma.....	
5. Ayacucho.....	Guamanga	
	Huancavelica.....	
6. Cuzco	Cuzco.....	*Audiencia* of Cuzco.

assigns to Bolivia, 1,300,000, and to Chile, 1,400,000. Humboldt assigns to the latter, only 1,100,000, or 76 to the square marine league. We have adopted Mr. Miller's estimate as not only the mean, but apparently the most exact and authentic. To Colombia, Humboldt assigns 2,785,000, or 30 to the square league; Balbi, 2,800,000; Miller, 2,711,296. The latter estimates the population of the Argentine Republic at only 600,000; we have followed Balbi. To Paraguay, the former gives half a million; (evidently a mere conjecture;) while Balbi allows half that number; but, on more distinct information, it is stated, that the total population is something short of 200,000, of whom seven-tenths are Creoles, scattered over a territory not less extensive than France.—North American Rev., No. lix. p. 465. To Brazil, Balbi allows five millions;

7 Puno	Lampa. Azangaro.	Paucarcolla. Chucuito.	*Audiençia* of Charcas.*

UPPER PERU OR BOLIVIA.

1. La Paz	Formerly under the jurisdiction of the *Audiençia* of Charcas: and included in the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.
2. Cochabamba	
3. Oruro	
4. Chuquisaca, or Charcas	
5. Potosi	
6. Santa Cruz de la Sierra	

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

1. Catamarca	Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.
2. Tarija	
3. Salta	
4. Tucuman	
5. Rioja	
6. Santiago del Estero	
7. Corrientes	
8. Missiones	
9. Entre Rios	
10. San Juan	
11. San Luis	
12. Cordova	
13. Santa Fé	
14. Buenos Ayres	
15. Cuyo or Mendoza	

CHILE.†

Departments.	*Provinces.*
1. Coquimbo	Copiapo.
	Coquimbo.
2. Santiago	Quillota.
	Aconcagua.
	Santiago.
	Melipilla.
	Rancagua.
	Colchagua.
	Maule.

we have followed Humboldt and Miller. See also MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. i. p. 4; Colombia, pp. 4—9; and p. 28 of the present volume.

* These districts, on the N. and W. of Lake Titicaca, formerly under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, are included in Peru on the authority of Mr. Miller.

† Miers, vol. i. p. 400. Schmidtmeyer, p. 353. Some slight variation occurs in the subdivisions given by the latter Traveller.

Departments.	*Provinces.*
3. Concepçion	Chillan.
	Itata.
	Rere, or Huilquilemu.
	Penco, Puchacay, or Concepçion.
4. Valdivia.	
5. Chiloe.	

COLOMBIA.*

1. Orinoco	Cumana.
	Barcelona.
	Margarita.
	Guayana.
2. Venezuela	Caracas.
	Carabozo
3. Apure	Varinas.
	Apure.
4. Zulia	Maracaybo.
	Coro.
	Merida.
	Truxillo.
5. Boyaca	Tunja.
	Pamplona.
	Socorro.
	Casanare.
6. Cundinamarca	Bogota.
	Antioquia.
	Mariquita.
	Neiva.
7. Magdalena	Cartagena.
	Santa Marta.
	Rio de la Hacha.
8. Cauca	Popayan.
	Choco.
	Pasto.
	Buena Ventura.
9. Istmo	Panama.
	Veragua.
10. Equador	Pinchincha.
	Imbubura.
	Chimborazo.

* For this table, we are indebted to Mr. Miller, vol. i. p. xl. In our description of Colombia, a somewhat different arrangement is given, according to the best information to which we had then access.

Departments.	*Provinces.*
11. Assuay.....	Cuenca.
	Loja.
	Jaen.
	Maynas.
12. Guayaquil.....	Guayaquil.
	Manali.

Of the Colombian provinces, a general description has already been given, so far as they have been made known to us by the invaluable researches of Baron Humboldt and other recent travellers. We are now to enter upon Peru, a country hitherto very imperfectly explored; and our topographical description must, therefore, of necessity, be much less complete and satisfactory than we could wish. We shall begin at the capital.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

NOTHING can be more dreary and comfortless than the spectacle which presents itself on approaching the island of San Lorenzo, which forms the southern side of the bay of Callao. Not a tree or shrub, not even a blade of grass presents itself; it is one continued heap of sand or rock. But, having passed the head-land, the vessels in the offing, the town, and the batteries, at once open on the view. The principal fortress, the *Real Felipe*, though disadvantageously situated, has a somewhat majestic appearance. It is on a level with the sea; behind it (on a clear day) are seen the hills in successive gradations, crowned with the gigantic summits of the Andes, towering in the distance, in some parts above the clouds, which, resting upon the tops of the lower ranges, seem to have yielded their places in the atmosphere to these enormous masses, and to encircle their feet. On approaching the anchorage, the numerous spires and domes of Lima are seen to the left of the town of Callao, giving to the city an air decidedly oriental. The prospect at sunset, Mr. Miller tells us, is particularly interesting: "for, when twilight has already thrown the landscape of the plain into deep shade, the domes of the city are still gilded by the departing sun; and when these are also become shrouded in darkness, the peaks of the mountains continue for some time to be illumined by his lingering beams."*

The houses of Callao make a very sorry appearance, being only about twenty feet high, divided into two

* Miller, vol. i. p. 382. Stevenson, vol. i. p. 133. See, for nautical directions on entering the bay, Basil Hall, vol. ii. App. Nos. 3 and 5; and Brand's Voyage, p. 174.

stories, with mud walls and flat roofs. The ground floors form a row of small shops, open in front, and the upper stories an uncouth corridor. The slightness of their construction is sufficiently explained by two circumstances; the frequency of earthquakes, and rain being unknown. The city of Callao (for such was the title conferred upon it in 1671) was entirely destroyed by the earthquake of 1746, which laid three-fourths of the capital in ruins. By that terrible convulsion, upwards of 3000 people are said to have perished at Callao alone. The city stood at a short distance to the southward of the present town; and on a calm day, the ruins may yet be seen under water, at that part of the bay called the *Mar Brava* (rough sea), where a sentry is placed on the beach, for the purpose of taking charge of any treasure that may be washed ashore, which not unfrequently happens.* The government warehouses and residences of the chief officers, are inside the fort, which occupies a considerable extent of ground, surrounded with thick walls, a moat, and batteries of great strength. In the centre, a large square is occupied with spacious barracks, a chapel, the governor's house, and other public buildings. No persons of respectability reside in the town, which is dirty and wretched, inhabited only by a few fishermen and

* Stevenson, vol. i. p. 138. In Alcedo's Dictionary, it is stated, that, of 3000 inhabitants, only one man was left to record the dreadful catastrophe. Mr. Stevenson, however, "became acquainted with an old mulatto, who was one of the three or four who were saved. He told me," (says Mr. S.) "that he was sitting on some timber, which had been landed from a ship in the bay, at the time that the great wave of the sea rolled in, and buried the city; and that he was carried, clinging to the log, near to the chapel, a distance of three miles." The island of San Lorenzo is said to have been separated from the main land by this convulsion. It is between two and three miles in circuit, the soil mere sand and black rock.

smugglers, and altogether a disgrace to the capital of Peru. There is an inn, but of the worst description, kept by an American.* The castle of Callao stands in lat. 12° 3′ 45″ S., long. 77° 6′ 10″ W.†

From Callao to Lima, it is a distance of six miles, along a good road, for which the country is indebted to the public-spirited viceroy, Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquess of Osorno. Unfortunately he died, after being viceroy three years, leaving this useful work incomplete. The finished part extends only about two miles from a noble gateway at the entrance of the city, and has a double row of lofty willows on each side, shading the foot-walk. A small stream of water runs by each walk, irrigating the willows, and nourishing numberless weeds and flowers. This promenade is also furnished with stone benches every hundred yards; and at about every mile is a large circle formed of walls of brick and stone, four feet high, with stone seats round it, for carriages to turn in with greater ease than on the road. It was the intention of the Viceroy, to carry the road down to Callao in the same style; but only the carriage-road is finished, which has a parapet of brick on each side to keep together the materials. On the right hand side, going from the port, are the ruins of an Indian village, built before the discovery of South America. Some of the old walls are left, formed of clay, about two feet thick, and six feet high. To the right is the town of Bellavista, to which parish Callao is annexed, where is a hospital for seamen and the poorer class. Half way between the port and the city stands a very neatly built chapel, with a small cloister attached to it, dedicated to Our

* Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 51. Mathison, p. 224.
† Basil Hall. In Alcedo, lat. 12° 2′; long. 77° 4′.

Lady of Mount Carmel, the protectress of seamen. Near it, is a house at which are sold good brandy and wine, which is the more frequented of the two. On approaching the city, the soil improves; large vegetable gardens and fields of lucern and maize are seen; and close to the city walls are extensive orchards of tropical fruits, all irrigated by canals from the river Rimac. The gateway is a triple arch of brick, stuccoed, with cornices, mouldings, and pillars of stone. The dilapidated insignia of the crown of Spain, over the gate, now serve as an emblem of the fall of its empire.

LIMA.

IMMEDIATELY on passing the gateway, the stranger is struck with the contrast which the interior of the city presents to the grandeur of the approach and distant view. He finds himself in a long, dirty street of low houses, with small shops, having their goods placed on tables at the doors,—no glass windows, no display of articles of commerce,—the people of all colours, from the black African to the white and florid Biscayan. In some parts of the city, however, are to be seen a number of smart shops, exhibiting a rich display of French silks and jewellery, and British goods of every description. The English costume is now quite prevalent in Lima, mingled with the French; while the fair Limeñas have a dress peculiar to themselves. Everywhere, the streets are full of bustle; and when a church procession or some other object of interest draws together the various classes of the population in some of the public squares, the groupes which are formed, present altogether a most motley and extraordinary appearance, well described by Mr. Mathison. "Priests, in rich sacerdotal vestments; friars, of various orders, Franciscan, Bene-

dictine, Dominican, and others, many of whose portly persons and ruddy countenances belie the austerity of their profession; men, dressed up as nuns, with black veils and masks, selling little waxen images of the Virgin; women of all classes,—some in shawls and hats, others with the showy *saya* (petticoat) and black silk *manto*, so put on as carefully to conceal the face and expose the person; blacks and mulattoes, male and female; and Indians, whose squalid, hideous features bear no resemblance to the pictures which imagination is wont to draw of their ancestors, 'the gentle children of the sun;' loaded mules and asses, with their attendant *peons*, just arrived from the port; country creoles of both sexes, on horseback, mounted and equipped alike; carriages (here termed *valencins*) made and painted in the Spanish fashion, and filled with smartly dressed ladies, their black servants and postilions bedecked in the most tawdry liveries; cavaliers of all nations, and patriot officers in gay uniforms,—some on foot, courting the attention of the fair beholders, others shewing off the paces of their prancing steeds; venders of ice and *chicha* (a favourite Peruvian drink); beggars, imploring alms in the name of the Virgin and all the saints of the Romish calendar;—these and other innumerable objects, during the procession, and for some hours afterwards, contribute to enliven and diversify the scene." *

The city of Lima, founded by Francis Pizarro in 1535, stands on the left bank of the Rimac,† from which it takes its modern name, (corrupted into Lima,)

* Mathison, pp. 230, 1.

† "The name of the valley was taken from an idol of the Peruvians, which was denominated, by way of distinction, *Rimac*, or he who speaks."—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 424. Mr. Stevenson tells us, that the valley was called by the Indians, *Rimac Malca*, "the place of witches;" it being the custom, even before the time of the

in a broad and fertile plain, which gently slopes to the Pacific. It is situated in lat. 12° 2′ 31″ S., long. 76° 58′ 30″ W. The great chain of the Andes passes within twenty leagues of the city, but spurs proceeding from it approach within three quarters of a league of the gates, and form an amphitheatre, within which the city is built. These *sierras*, which are from 1300 to 2650 feet high, keep off the northerly and easterly winds. The great square of Lima is on an elevation of 480 feet above the sea. The figure of the city is described by Alcedo as triangular. Mr. Stevenson says, it approaches to a semicircle, having the river for its diameter. It is two miles long from east to west, and one and a quarter broad, from the bridge to the wall. It is, for the most part, divided into squares (*quadras*), of which there are 157; and there are said to be 355 streets, all built at right angles, and generally about twenty-five feet wide. Those running east and west, have a small stream of water flowing down them; and the Rimac passes through a part of the town. On the other side of the river is the suburb of San Lazaro, which is inhabited by the less respectable part of the community. Lima is stated to contain nearly 4000 houses, four large monasteries with numerous dependent conventual and collegiate establishments, fifteen nunneries, and four *beaterios*, and a population of between 60 and 70,000 souls.*

The city received from Pizarro, the dedicatory name

Incas, to banish to this valley those persons who were accused of witchcraft, where they generally were carried off by intermittent fevers.—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 143. No authority is given for this strange legend.

* Cosme, in 1764, estimates the population of the city at 54,000 souls, of which the Spaniards formed 17,200; the Indians and Negroes, 12,200; the Mestizoes and other castes, 24,600. There were 1390 monks and priests; and 1580 nuns. In Alcedo's Dictionary,

of *La Ciudad de los Reyes* (City of the Kings, i. e. Magi), in commemoration of the day of its foundation (January 6); to which the arms of the "Royal City," three crowns Or, on a field Azure, with the Star of the East above, obviously allude.* It is surrounded (except towards the river) with a wall of sun-dried bricks,† about ten feet thick at the bottom, and eight at the top, forming a beautiful promenade round two-thirds of the city. Its average height is twelve feet, with a parapet of three feet. It is flanked with thirty-four bastions, but without embrasures. There are seven gates and three posterns, which are closed every night at eleven, and opened at four A.M. This wall of inclosure, rather than of defence, was built by the Viceroy, the Duke de la Palata, in 1685, and repaired in 1808. At the south-eastern extremity of the city is a small citadel, called Santa Catalina, in which are the artillery barracks and a military depôt.

The *plaça mayor*, or principal square, has, on the eastern side, the cathedral, a very handsome pile; to the north of which is the *sagrario*, or principal parish church, having a very beautiful façade; and adjoining it is the archiepiscopal palace, which surpasses in appearance every other building in the square. Green balconies run along the front, on each side of an arched gateway leading into the *patio*; but the lower

the population is estimated at 60,000. Mr. Miller states it at about 70,000. Mr. Stevenson says, that in 1810, it was rated at 87,000, of which number about 20,000 were whites. The fluctuation has, no doubt, owing to political circumstances, been very considerable.

* These arms and the title of Royal City were granted to Lima by the Emperor Charles V. in 1537.

† These bricks (*adobes*), which contain a very large proportion of chopped straw, are deemed better calculated to resist the shock of earthquakes, than stone; and their elasticity would make them a tolerable defence.

part is disgraced with a row of small shops, the nearest one to the Sagrario being a *pulperia* (grog-shop). Under the area of the cathedral, which is ten feet above the level of the square, there is also a range of shops. On the north side is the Viceroy's palace,* the lower part of which is in like manner concealed by a range of shops and stalls; and over these runs a long gallery with tiers of seats for the accommodation of the inhabitants when there is any *fête* in the square. At the north-western corner is a gallery for the family of the Viceroy, which, on days of ceremony, was fitted up with green velvet hangings. The south side of the square is formed by a row of private houses, but with an arcade or piazza in front, occupied with the shops of drapers and mercers. On the north side is the *cabildo*, or town-hall, a building very much in the Chinese style; and under it is the city gaol. In the centre of the square is a beautiful brass fountain, erected in 1653, the water of which is the best in Lima; and at all hours of the day, water-carriers are busily employed in conveying it to all parts of the city. In this square is held the principal market.

The interior of the cathedral is very rich.† The

* "The interior of the Viceroy's palace is very mean; but it is said to have been a magnificent building before it was destroyed by an earthquake, October 20, 1687. The *sala de los Vireys*, so called on account of its containing full-length portraits of all the viceroys from Pizarro to Pezuela, was used only on days of ceremony. It is a curious circumstance, that this hall was exactly filled with portraits when the liberating forces entered Lima, there not being one spare pannel."—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 228.

† "The riches which have been lavished at various times upon the interior of this edifice, are scarcely to be credited any where but in a city which once paved a street with ingots of silver, to do honour to a new viceroy. The balustrades surrounding the great altar, and the pipes of the organ, were of silver. It may be mentioned, as a proof of the abundance of silver ornaments, that, three weeks prior to my arrival (April 1821), a ton and a half of

walls and floor are of good free-stone; and the roof, which is beautifully pannelled and carved in compartments, is supported by arches springing from a double row of neat square pillars of stone work. All these, on festivals, are covered with hangings of crimson velvet, fringed with the richest gold lace; but, in Passion week, purple velvet hangings are substituted. The high altar has a most magnificent appearance. It is of the Corinthian order; the columns, cornices, and mouldings are cased with pure silver; and over it is a celestial crown of silver gilt; the sacrarium in the centre is richly ornamented with chased silver work. The custodium is of gold delicately wrought, and enriched with a profusion of diamonds and other precious stones: from the pedestal to the points of the rays, it measures seven feet, and is too heavy to be lifted by a person of ordinary strength. The front of the altar-table is of embossed silver, very beautiful. The front of the choir is closed by tastefully wrought palisades of iron gilt, with large gates of the same. The stalls are of carved cedar. There are two organs of fine tone, and the choral music is very good. On grand festivals, the *coup d'œil* is very imposing. The high altar is then illuminated with more than a thousand wax tapers. The large silver candelabra, each weighing upwards of a hundred pounds, the superb silver branches and lamps, and the splendid service of plate on the left of the altar, have a most magnificent effect. The archbishop, in his costly pontifical robes, is seen kneeling under a canopy of crimson velvet with a reclinatory and cushions of the same material. A number of assisting priests, in their robes of ceremony, fill the presbytery; next to which, leading towards

silver was taken from the various churches, without being missed, to meet the exigencies of the state."—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 56.

the choir, are seats covered with velvet, on the left for the officers of state and the corporation, on the right for the judges, who attend in full costume. In the centre, in front of the altar, a state chair covered with crimson velvet was appropriated to the Viceroy, when he attended in state, having, on each side, three halberdiers of his body-guard; while behind him stood his chaplain, chamberlain, groom, the captain of the body-guard, and four pages in waiting. Three times during mass, one of the acolites used to descend from the presbytery with a censer, and bow to the Viceroy, who stood up amid a cloud of smoke: the acolite bowed as he retired, and the Viceroy again knelt down.

At the back of the high altar is a chapel dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, in which are effigies of two archbishops in white marble, kneeling. In this chapel is the vault where the archbishops of Lima were formerly buried; but it is now closed, and the bodies of the primates are at present carried to the Pantheon, the common burial-place, where the first corpse interred was that of Archbishop La Reguera, which was exhumed for the purpose.

The interior of the Sagrario is very splendid. The roof is lofty and beautifully pannelled; and in the centre is a cupola resting upon the four corners formed by the intersection of the cross aisle. The several altars are splendidly carved, varnished, and gilt. Great part of the high altar is cased with silver, and the custodium is of gold, richly set with diamonds and gems. The font is incased with silver.

The parish churches of Lima have nothing to recommend them to particular notice.* Of the con-

* The church of San Pedro is mentioned by Mr. Caldcleugh as remarkable for its architecture, but he does not describe it; and

ventual churches, only those belonging to the principal houses are remarkably rich. That of San Domingo, about 100 yards from the *plaça mayor*, is truly magnificent, and its tower is the loftiest in the city. It is about 180 feet high, built chiefly of *bajareque* (wood-work and plaster). The roof of the church is supported by a double row of light pillars painted and gilt; the ceiling is divided into pannels by gilt mouldings, and the large central pannels exhibit some good paintings in fresco. The high altar is ornamented with Ionic columns varnished in imitation of marble, with gilt capitals and mouldings. At the foot of the presbytery, on the right, stands the silver altar of Our Lady of the Rosary. This altar, Mr. Stevenson says, exceeds any other in Lima, both in richness and effect. "It is entirely covered with pure silver. Its elegant fluted columns, highly finished embossed pedestals, capitals, and cornices, some of them doubly gilt, are superb. In the centre of the altar is the niche of the Madonna, of exquisite workmanship: the interior contains a transparent painting of a temple, the light being admitted to it by a window at the back of the altar. The effigy is gorgeously dressed; the crown is a cluster of diamonds and other precious gems, and the drapery is of the richest brocades, laces, and embroidery; the rosary is a string of large pearls of the finest orient. Such is the abundance, or rather profusion of drapery, that the same dress is never continued two days together throughout the year.

"the small church built by Pizarro, which has never been totally ruined by the earthquakes, and which is situated *abajo de la puente* (beyond the bridge), is visited by all strangers."—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 57. Mr. Stevenson says, the church of San Lazaro "has an elegant façade, and presents a good appearance from the bridge: the interior is tastefully ornamented."

Before the niche, fifteen large wax tapers are continually burning in silver sockets; and in a semicircle before the altar are suspended by massive silver chains, curiously wrought, fourteen large, heavy lamps, kept constantly lighted with olive oil. Besides these are, similarly suspended, eight fancifully wrought silver bird-cages, whose inmates, in thrilling notes, join the pealing tones of the organ and the sacred chaunt of divine worship. Four splendid silver chandeliers hang opposite the altar, each containing fifteen wax tapers; below are ranged six heavy silver candelabra, six feet high, and six tables cased in silver, each supporting a large silver branch with seven tapers; also four urns of the same precious metal, filled with perfumed spirits, which are always burning on festivals, and emit scents from the most costly drugs and spices; the whole being surrounded with fuming pastillas, held by silver cherubim. On those days when the festivals of the Virgin Mary are celebrated, and particularly at the feast of the Rosary, the sumptuous appearance of this altar exceeds all description: at that time, during nine days, more than a thousand tapers blaze, and the chanting and music of the choir are uninterrupted. At the celebration of these feasts, many miracles are pretended to be wrought by the Madonna, and many absurd legends are related from the pulpit.

"On the left of the high altar stands one dedicated to Saint Rose; it is richly ornamented, and has a large urn containing an effigy of the saint, in a reclining posture, of white marble and good sculpture. On each side of the church are six altars, coloured and varnished in imitation of different marbles, lapis lazuli, &c. with gilt mouldings, cornices, and other embellishments. The choir is over the entrance at the prin-

cipal porch ; it is capacious, and has two good organs. The music belonging to this church, is all painted on vellum by a lay brother of the order ; and some of the books are ably done. Three of the cloisters are very good ; the principal one is elegant ; it has two ranges of cells, and the pillars and arches are of stone, of fine workmanship. The lower part of the walls is covered with Dutch tiles, exhibiting sketches from the life of St. Dominick, &c. Above are large indifferently executed paintings of the life and miracles of the tutelary saints : they are generally concealed by pannelled shutters, which are opened on holidays and festivals. At the angles of this cloister are small altars, with busts and effigies, most of them in bad style. The lower cloisters are paved with freestone flags ; the upper ones with bricks. Some of the cells are richly furnished, and display more delicate attention to luxury, than rigid observance of monastic austerity. The library contains a great number of books on theology and morality. On the wall of the stairs leading from the cloister to the choir, is a fine painting of Christ in the Sepulchre. The rents of this convent amount to about 80,000 dollars annually. Belonging to this order is the sanctuary of Saint Rose, she having been a *beata* or devotee of the order. In the small chapel are several relics of the saint." *

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 237—242. Notwithstanding the profane legend which makes this sainted lady the contemporary of our Saviour, she is, we presume, the personage alluded to in a subsequent page, as a native of Lima, and the only person born in the Spanish colonies who has been canonized ; Santa Rosa de Santa Maria, patroness of Peru. She is believed to have foretold the independence of the country, in the prediction, " that after the dominion of the kings of Spain should have lasted as long as that of the Incas, the sceptre would drop from their hands. This prophecy was printed in the first edition of her life in 1662, but was expunged from the succeeding ones,"—*Ib.* p. 291.

" The church, chapels, and convents of St. Francis, about 200 yards from the *plaça mayor*, are the largest and most elegant in Lima.* The church does not possess the riches of St. Dominick's, but its appearance is more solemn. The porch is filled with statues and other ornaments, and the two steeples are lofty and somewhat elegant. The roof is supported by two rows of stone pillars, and is of pannel-work, in the Gothic style. Some of the altars are curiously carved and gilt, and the pillars, &c. of the sacrarium are cased with silver. Like the cathedral, this church has a complete set of crimson velvet hangings, fringed with gold. The chapel *Del Milagro* † is most tastefully ornamented. Some of the paintings, executed by Don Matias Maestre, are good. The high altar is cased with silver, and the niche of the Madonna is beautifully wrought of the same material. Mass is celebrated here every half hour from five in the morning till noon. In the vestry of this chapel are paintings of the heads of the apostles by Rubens, or, as some assert, by Morillo : however this may be, they are undoubtedly very fine. Another chapel, elegantly ornamented, is that of *N. Señora de los Dolores ;* and one in the interior of the convent contains five beautiful paintings of the Passion of Christ, by Titian : they belong to the Count of Lurigancho, and are only lent to the chapel. Inside the convent is a mausoleum for the order and some of the principal benefactors ; but it is now closed. The principal cloister is very hand-

* Mr. Caldcleugh says, that the convent of the Franciscans is calculated to cover one-eighth of the city.

† Our Lady of the Miracle; so named from a silly legend, that, in the earthquake of November 1630, the effigy of the Virgin, then standing over the porch facing the street, turned round to the high altar in a supplicating posture, and thereby saved the city from destruction.

some. The lower part of the walls is covered with blue and white Dutch tiles; above which is a range of paintings, neatly executed, the subjects taken from the life of St. Francis. The pillars are of stone, the mouldings and cornices of stucco, and the roof of pannel-work, which, with the beams, is laboriously carved. In the middle of this cloister, there is a garden with an arbour of jessamine on trellis-work crossing it at right angles; in the centre is a beautiful brass fountain, and in the middle of each square, formed by the intersection of the arbour, is a smaller one, throwing the water 20 feet high. The minor squares are filled with pots of choice flowers, and a number of birds in cages hang among the jessamines. Two large folding gates lead from the church to the cloister; and whether the garden be viewed from the former, or the music of the choir be heard from the latter, the effect is equally fascinating.

"The order, being a mendicant one, possesses no property: it is supported by charity; and having the exclusive privilege of selling shrouds, it acquires a very large income, as no one wishes that a corpse should be buried without the sacred habit of St. Francis.* The library is rich in theological works.

"The small *Recoleto* of San Diego, in the suburbs, belongs to the same order. The friars wear the coarse grey habit, and are barefoot. The gardens are extensive, and contain a large stock of good fruit-trees and medicinal plants. The solemn silence which reigns in the small but particularly clean cloisters of this convent, seem to invite to religious seclusion. Here is a cloister of small cells, with a chapel, to which any man

* "The shroud is, in fact, exactly the same as the habit of the friar; which gave rise to the curious remark of a foreigner, that he observed none but friars died in this place."

may retire for a week from the hurry and bustle of the town, and dedicate a portion of his life to religious meditation. During Lent, the number of those who thus retire is very great. Their principal object is to prepare themselves to receive the communion.

"The church of the Augustinians is small, but light and ornamented with sculpture and gilding. The convent is of the second class, but the order is rich; and their college of San Ildefonso is considered as the best conventual college in Lima. The church of *N. Señora de la Merced* is large, but not rich. In the churches belonging to the nunneries, there is a great quantity of tasteful ornaments, but nothing very costly, although the income of one, *La Concepcion*, exceeds 100,000 dollars annually."*

Among the other public establishments at Lima, are,—the hospital of *San Andres*, for Whites, containing 600 beds, which number can be doubled, and attached to it are a botanic garden and an amphitheatre; adjoining it is the college of *San Fernando*, for the study of medicine and surgery, founded by the Viceroy Abascal; the hospital of *San Bartolome*, for negroes and people of colour; that of *Sant' Ana* for Indians, founded by the Cacica Catalina Huanca; that of *Espiritu Santo* for sailors; *San Pedro de Alcantara* and *La Caridad* for females; and *San Lazaro* for lepers. Besides these public hospitals, in the convent of San Pedro, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, and now occupied by the congregation of San Felipe Neri, is an asylum for poor ecclesiastics; and the monks of

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 232—248. It used to be said, that the four best situations in Lima were, the viceroyalty, the archbishopric, the provincialate of San Domingo, and the office of the Mother Abbess of Concepcion. Independently of other pious donations, the dowry of each nun, on taking the veil, amounts to 3000 dollars.

Belen and San Juan de Dios have each under their charge a private hospital, where any individual is received on paying a dollar a-day.*

The University of Lima was founded in 1549, by a bull of Pius V., with the same privileges as those of Salamanca. It is a handsome building with several good halls and an extensive library. In the same square once stood the Holy Office; whence the *plaça* derives its name, and also the hospital *La Caridad:* hence, Mr. Stevenson says, it is often called "the square of the three cardinal virtues,"—the Inquisition being the representative of Faith; the University, of Hope; and the Hospital, of Charity. Besides the University, there are, the royal college of *San Carlos*, founded by the Jesuits for secular studies; the college *Del Principe*, where young Indian caciques are educated for the church; the medical college of *San Fernando*, already mentioned; the college of *San Toribio*, an ecclesiastical seminary;† and a nautical academy in what was the palace of the Viceroy. The respective costumes of the collegians are not a little singular. The dress of the students of *San Carlos* is a full suit of black, with a cocked hat and a dress sword; that of *Del Principe* is a full suit of green with a crimson shoulder ribbon, and also a cocked hat; that of *San Fernando*, is a full suit of blue with yellow buttons and collar trimmed with gold lace; and that of *San Toribio*, an almond-coloured

* Mr. Stevenson speaks highly of the attention paid, in all the hospitals, to the diet, cleanliness, ventilation, and comfort of the sick. He was himself twice in that of San Juan de Dios, where more particular attention is paid to the sick, and he received all the assistance and indulgence he could expect.

† St. Thoribio de Mogroviejo, the founder of this college, was Archbishop of Lima from 1578 to 1606, and was canonized by Benedict XIII. in 1727.

gown (called the *opa*), very wide at the bottom, and made like a *poncho*, with a scarf of pale blue cloth, and a square bonnet of black cloth.

The preceding description, for which we are indebted to the volumes of Mr. Stevenson, will give an idea of what Lima was in the days of its wealth and pride, when it was the richest city of South America. This Traveller arrived in that city in 1811, during the viceroyalty of Abascal; and during his stay there, the act of the Cortes was received, abolishing the Inquisition. A short time before, he had been cited before that dread tribunal for rashly engaging in a dispute with a Dominican friar; he had now the opportunity of paying a second visit, under very different circumstances, in company with some friends who had obtained the Viceroy's permission to explore the empty den of the monster. His account of the visit must not be suppressed.

"The doors of the hall being opened, many entered who were not invited, and seeing nothing in a posture of defence, the first victims to our fury were the table and chairs: these were soon demolished; after which some persons laid hold of the velvet curtains of the canopy, and dragged them so forcibly, that canopy and crucifix came down with a horrid crash. The crucifix was rescued from the ruins of inquisitorial state, and its head was discovered to be moveable. A ladder was found to have been secreted behind the canopy, and thus the whole mystery of this miraculous image became explained: a man was concealed on the ladder, by the curtains of the canopy, and by introducing his hand through a hole, he moved the head, so as to make it nod consent, or shake dissent. In how many instances may appeal to this imposture have caused an innocent man to own

himself guilty of crimes he never dreamt of! Overawed by fear, and condemned, as was believed, by a miracle, falsehood would supply the place of truth, and innocence, if timid, confess itself sinful. Every one was now exasperated with rage, and 'there are yet victims in the cells,' was universally murmured. 'A search! a search!' was the cry, and the door leading to the interior was quickly broken through. The next we found was called *del secreto:* the word secret stimulated curiosity, and the door was instantly burst open. It led to the archives. Here were heaped upon shelves, papers containing the written cases of those who had been accused or tried; and here I read the name of many a friend, who little imagined that his conduct had been scrutinized by the holy tribunal, or that his name had been recorded in so awful a place. Some who were present, discovered their own names on the rack, and pocketed the papers. I put aside fifteen cases, and took them home with me; but they were not of great importance. Four for blasphemy bore a sentence, which was three months' seclusion in a convent, a general confession, and different penances—all secret. The others were accusations of friars, *solicitantes in confesione*, two of whom I knew, and though some danger attended the disclosure, I told them afterwards what I had seen. Prohibited books in abundance were in the room, and many found future owners. To our great surprise, we here met with a quantity of printed cotton handkerchiefs. These, alas! had incurred the displeasure of the Inquisition, because a figure of Religion, holding a chalice in one hand, and a cross in the other, was stamped in the centre: placed there, perhaps, by some unwary manufacturer, who thought such devout insignia would insure purchasers, but who forgot the heinousness of

blowing the nose or spitting upon the cross. To prevent such a crime, this religious tribunal had taken the wares by wholesale, omitting to pay their value to the owner, who might consider himself fortunate in not having his shop removed to the sacred house. Leaving this room, we forced our way into another, which, to our astonishment and indignation, was that of torture. In the centre stood a strong table, about eight feet long and seven feet broad; at one end of which was an iron collar, opening in the middle horizontally, for the reception of the neck of the victim; on each side of the collar were also thick straps with buckles, for inclosing the arms near to the body; and on the sides of the table were leather straps with buckles for the wrists, connected with cords under the table, made fast to the axle of an horizontal wheel; at the other end were two more straps for the ancles, with ropes similarly fixed to the wheel. Thus it was obvious, that a human being might be extended on the table, and, by turning the wheel, might be stretched in both directions at the same time, without any risk of hanging, for that effect was prevented by the two straps under his arms, close to the body; but almost every joint might be dislocated. After we had discovered the diabolical use of this piece of machinery, every one shuddered, and involuntarily looked towards the door, as if apprehensive that it would close upon him. At first, curses were muttered, but they were soon changed into loud imprecations against the inventors and practisers of such torments; and blessings were showered on the Cortes for having abolished this tribunal of arch tyranny. We next examined a vertical pillory, placed against the wall; it had one large and two smaller holes; on opening it, by lifting up the one half, we perceived apertures in

the wall, and the purpose of the machine was soon ascertained. An offender having his neck and wrists secured in the holes of the pillory, and his head and hands hidden in the wall, could be flogged by the lay brothers of St. Dominick without being known by them; and thus, any accidental discovery was avoided. Scourges of different materials were hanging on the wall; some of knotted cord, not a few of which were hardened with blood; others were of wire chain, with points and rowels like those of spurs; these too were clotted with blood. We also found tormentors, made of netted wire, the points of every mesh projecting about one-eighth of an inch inward, the outside being covered with leather, and having strings to tie them on. Some of these tormentors were of a sufficient size for the waist, others for the thighs, the legs, and arms. The walls were likewise adorned with shirts of horse-hair, which could not be considered as a very comfortable habit after a severe flagellation; with human bones, having a string at each end, to gag those who made too free a use of their tongues; and with nippers, made of cane, for the same purpose. These nippers consisted of two slips of cane, tied at the ends; by opening in the middle when they were put into the mouth, and fastened behind the head, in the same manner as the bones, they pressed forcibly upon the tongue. In a drawer were a great many finger-screws; they were small semi-circular pieces of iron, in the form of crescents, having a screw at one end, so that they could be fixed on the fingers, and screwed to any degree, even till the nails were crushed and the bones broken. On viewing these implements of torture, who could find an excuse for the monsters who would use them to establish the faith which was taught, by

precept and example, by the mild, the meek, the holy Jesus! May he who would not curse them in the bitterness of wrath, fall into their merciless hands! The rack and the pillory were soon demolished; for such was the fury of more than a hundred persons who had gained admittance, that, had they been constructed of iron, they could not have resisted the violence and determination of the assailants. In one corner stood a wooden horse, painted white: it was conceived to be another instrument of torture, and was instantly broken to pieces; but I was afterwards informed, that a victim of the Inquisition, who had been burnt at the stake, was subsequently declared innocent of the charges preferred against him; when, as an atonement for his death, his innocence was publicly announced, and his effigy, dressed in white, and mounted on this horse, was paraded about the streets of Lima. Some said, that the individual suffered in Lima; others, that he suffered in Spain, and that, by a decree of the inquisitor-general, this farce was performed in every part of the Spanish dominions where a tribunal existed. We proceeded to the cells, but found them all open and empty: they were small, but not uncomfortable as places of confinement. Some had a small yard attached; others, more solitary, had none. The last person known to have been confined was a naval officer, an Andalusian, who was exiled in 1812 to Boca Chica.

"Having examined every corner of this mysterious prison-house, we retired in the evening, taking with us books, papers, scourges, tormentors, &c., many of which were distributed at the door, particularly several pieces of the irreligious handkerchiefs. The following morning, the archbishop went to the cathedral, and

declared all those persons excommunicated, *velut participantes*, who had taken and should retain in their possession any thing that had belonged to, or had been found in, the ex-tribunal of the Inquisition. In consequence of this declaration, many delivered up what they had taken; but with me, the case was different. I kept what I had got, in defiance of *flamines infernorum* denounced by his Grace against the *renitentes* and *retinentes*.

"To those who visit Lima, it may perhaps be interesting to know, that the stake at which the unfortunate victims of inquisitorial tyranny were burnt, was near the ground on which the *plaça de toros* now stands; and that at the foot of the bridge, at the door of the church *de los desamparados* (of the abandoned), they were delivered to the ordinary ministers of justice for execution."*

Lima is indebted to the Viceroy Abascal for the erection of the general cemetery already referred to,

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 267—276. Since the erection of this tribunal in 1570, forty individuals had been sentenced to be burned, a hundred and twenty more having escaped by recantation. The last who suffered, was a woman of the name of Castro, a native of Toledo, in Spain, in 1761. During his residence at Lima, Mr. Stevenson saw two men publicly disgraced by the Inquisition, one for having celebrated mass without being ordained, and the other for soothsaying and witchcraft; but, after doing penance, they were only sentenced to serve in the hospitals during the pleasure of the Holy Office. "It is said, that when Castelforte was viceroy, he was summoned by the Inquisition, and attended accordingly. Taking with him to the door his body guard, a company of infantry, and two pieces of artillery, he entered, and, laying his watch upon the table, told the Inquisitors, that, if their business were not despatched in one hour, the house would be battered down about their ears, for such were the orders he had left with the commanding officer at the gate. This was quite sufficient: the Inquisitors rose, and accompanied him to the door, too happy when they beheld the backs of his Excellency and his escort."—*Ib.* vol. i. p. 274.

under the name of the Pantheon. "Situated on the outside of the walls, it is sufficiently large to contain all the dead bodies for six years, without removal: when this becomes necessary, the bones are taken out of the niches, and placed in the osariums. Many of the rich families have purchased allotments for family vaults, having their names inscribed above. The building is a square inclosure, divided into several sections; in the wall are niches, each sufficient to hold a corpse; and the divisions are also formed by double rows of niches, built one above another, some of them eight stories high, the fronts being open. The walks are planted with many aromatics and evergreens. In the centre is a small chapel, or rather altar with a roof: its form is octagonal, so that eight priests can celebrate mass at the same time. The corpse is put into the niche with the feet foremost: if in a coffin, which seldom happens, except among the richer classes, the lid is removed, and a quantity of unslaked lime being thrown on each body, its decay is very rapid. For the conveyance of the dead, several hearses, of different descriptions, are provided, belonging to the Pantheon: they are not permitted to traverse the streets after twelve o'clock in the day.

"Before the establishment of this cemetery, all the dead were buried in the churches, or rather, placed in vaults, many of which had wooden trap-doors, opening in the floors; and, notwithstanding the plentiful use of lime, the stench and other disgusting effects were sometimes almost insufferable. When the first nun was to be carried to the Pantheon, great opposition was made by the Sisterhood; but the Viceroy sent a file of soldiers, and enforced the interment of the corpse in the general cemetery." *

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 281, 2.

At the entrance of the burying-ground is a chapel, decorated with an image of our Saviour in the Sepulchre, large as life, and so painted, Mr. Mathison tells us, as to excite indescribable horror. English feelings cannot be easily reconciled to the mode of burial here adopted; and the loathsome effluvia is quite sufficient to deter from any lengthened "meditations among the tombs." *

Lima was an episcopal see from 1539 to 1541, being suffragan to the mitre of Seville. It was created an archbishopric by Paul IV., and its metropolitan has for suffragans, the bishops of Panama, Cuzco, Quito, Santiago de Chile, Concepcion, Truxillo, Guamanga, Arequipa, Cuenca, and Maynas.† The city of Lima is divided into four parishes, with two out-parishes; and there are two chapels of ease (*semi-parochias*). The conventual churches and chapels amount to forty-four; and, including the chapels attached to the hospitals, and the private oratories, Mr. Stevenson states, there are altogether upwards of a hundred places of worship, supporting more than 800 secular and regular priests, and about 300 nuns, with a great number of lay brothers and sisters.‡ But this estimate must be much below the truth. In 1790, exclusive of the secular

* Mathison, p. 247. "Another very offensive practice, which is very common, is that of bringing the bodies of poor people, whose friends cannot afford the expenses of a coffin and regular conveyance, and throwing them unceremoniously over the walls of the cemetery, where they lie until the persons in attendance are prepared to bury them. In the morning, a number of corpses may be often seen exposed to full view in this way, as if they were no better than dead dogs or cats."—*Ibid.*

† These sees are enumerated in the order of their erection. Panama was made a see in 1533, Cuzco in 1534, Cuenca as late as 1786, and Maynas in 1806.

‡ Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 217—219. A list is given of twenty-five monastic establishments of different kinds, including the *Convalencias* and *Recoletas*; besides fifteen nunneries and four *beaterios* (female asylums).

clergy, the religious votaries amounted to 1647, and those living in communities, without having made the vows, were 3184.

Wherever the numbers and wealth of the monastic orders indicate that superstition is at a high temperature, it is generally found, that the state of morals is proportionately low. Lima has been proverbially distinguished for the luxury and dissipation of its citizens, although, as to the degree of vice that prevailed, testimonies differ. Lieutenant Brand, who visited Lima in 1827, says: "The priests in Lima are disgusting. Many have I seen absolutely drunk in the streets; and I wish this was the worst thing I have to say of them. In their processions, I have witnessed scenes shocking to human nature. In carrying the Virgin Mary through the streets, twelve females, supposed to be virgins, are selected to carry frankincense before her. These women are now generally female slaves of the most abandoned description.* These women, as they proceed before the Virgin, are screaming and hallooing with all their might, at the same time throwing up the incense to her. The priests are singing psalms, and I have seen them, in many of these processions, absolutely drunk while singing their psalms, and, between every verse, laughing and talking with the women. On the arrival of the Virgin at the church, the scene becomes more like a riot than a religious procession. Being once in a church when a procession entered, I could not imagine what in the world was the matter, such screaming, hallooing, hooting, and roaring as I never heard in my life, were set up immediately the Virgin

* Formerly, it was deemed an honour for the daughters of the first families to carry the frankincense before the Virgin.

made her appearance. The boys outside were huzzaing and throwing fire-works within, which occasioned a scene of tumult impossible to be described. When this uproar had subsided a little, a beautiful deep-toned organ vibrated through the many aisles of the magnificent Santo Domingo, and the finest sacred music I ever heard, was chaunted by the choir of singers. Between each cadence, had a pin dropped, it might have been heard throughout the crowded church, which, but a minute before, was all uproar and confusion. Alas! as I came away, I could not but think, what a mixture of frenzy, bigotry, and mockery of religion was all this!" *

As regards the deference of the people for the clergy, and their reverence for the rites of the church, a considerable change has been produced by the Revolution. "From having formerly submitted to the most absurd bigotry and superstition, even so far as to kneel in the streets to a priest passing, some of the rising generation are inclined to scoff at religion, and ridicule the priesthood." † There is, probably, not more infidelity or irreligion than before, but it can now more openly discover itself.

"The general aspect of the houses in Lima," remarks Mr. Stevenson, "is novel to an Englishman on his first arrival. ‡ Those of the inferior classes have but one floor, and none exceed two. The low houses have a mean appearance, too, from their having no windows in front. If the front be on a line with the street, they have only a door; and if they

* Brand, pp. 189—191. † Maw, p. 14.

‡ That is, if he has never visited Spain. At Seville, the houses are mostly built in the same Moorish fashion, round the four sides of a *patio*, with a *zaguan* or porch, and are seldom above two stories high.—See Mod. Trav., Spain, vol. ii. p. 18.

have a small court-yard (*patio*), a large, heavy door opens into the street. Some of the houses of the richer classes have simply the ground floor; but there is a *patio* before the house, and the entrance from the street is through a heavy-arched doorway, with a coach-house on one side; over this is a small room with a balcony and trellis windows opening to the street. Part of these houses have neat green balconies in front, but very few of the windows are glazed. Having capacious *patios*, large doors, and ornamented windows, besides painted porticoes and walls, with neat corridors, their appearance from the street is exceedingly handsome. In some, there is a prospect of a garden through the small glazed folding doors of two or three apartments: this garden is either real or painted, and contributes very much to enliven the scenery. The *patios* in summer have large awnings drawn over them, which produce an agreeable shade; but the flat roofs, without any ornaments in front, present an appearance not at all pleasing. If to this we add the sameness of the many dead walls of the convents and nunneries, some of the streets must naturally look very gloomy.

"The outer walls of the houses are generally built of *adobes* as far as the first floor, and the division walls are always formed of canes, plastered over on each side: this is called *quincha*. The upper story is made first of a frame-work of wood; canes are afterwards nailed or lashed with leather thongs on each side the frame-work; they are then plastered over, and the walls are called *bajareque*. These additions so considerably increase their bulk, that they seem to be composed of very solid materials, both with respect to the thickness which they exhibit, and the cornices and other ornaments which adorn them. Porticoes,

arches, mouldings, &c. at the doorways, are generally formed of the same materials. Canes bound together and covered with clay, are substituted also for pillars, as well as for other architectural ornaments, some of which being well executed and coloured like stone, a stranger, at first sight, easily supposes them to be built of the materials they are intended to imitate. The roofs, being flat, are constructed of rafters laid across and covered with cane, or cane mats, with a layer of clay sufficient to intercept the rays of the sun, and to guard against the fogs. Many of the better sort of houses have the roofs covered with large, thin baked bricks, on which the inhabitants can walk. These *asoteas* (as they are called) are very useful, and are often overspread with flowers and plants in pots: they also serve for drying clothes and other similar purposes. Among the higher classes, the ceilings are generally of pannel-work, ornamented with a profusion of carving; but among the lower, they are often of a coarse cotton cloth, nailed to the rafters and white-washed, or painted in imitation of pannel-work. In several of the meaner, however, the canes or cane mats are visible.

"Some of the churches have their principal walls and pillars of stone; others of *adobes* and *bajareque*. The towers are generally of the latter work, bound together with large beams of Guayaquil wood; the spires are commonly of wood-work, cased over with planks, and painted in imitation of stone, with mouldings, cornices, and other ornaments, either of wood or stucco. In large buildings of every description, there is generally a great proportion of timber, keeping up a connexion from the foundation to the roof; thus, there is less danger from the shocks of earthquakes,

than if they were built of brick or more solid materials; for the whole building yields to the motion, and the foundation being combined with the roof and other parts, the whole moves at the same time, and is not so easily thrown down."*

The streets of Lima are paved, but badly lighted, and are patrolled by watchmen, who vociferate, "*Ave Maria purissima! Viva la Patria!*" and a serene, or cloudy sky. The shallow stream of water, two feet in width, which runs through the centre of the principal streets, contributes much to carry off impurities. In the less frequented parts of the city, however, the eye is offended by unsightly proofs of the total inattention of the police to general cleanliness. Lieutenant Brand describes Lima as the dirtiest city in South America. "The servants, who are principally slaves, will come to the stream of water that runs through the middle, and wash fish, leaving the entrails on the sides rotting in the sun, until they are devoured by immense birds called turkey-buzzards, that are constantly to be seen devouring the various nuisances with which the streets are infested."†

The Rimac, which supplies these canals, has its origin in the district of Huarochiri: it receives in its course several small torrents, formed by the melting

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 213—216. Many years ago, a municipal regulation was issued to prevent the towers of the churches being constructed of any other materials than wood and painted canvas; but latterly, they have been built of clay or sun-dried bricks.

† Brand, p. 178. Miller, vol. i. p. 384. Lieutenant Maw, on the other hand, says, the principal streets are clean, and appeared to be swept every morning. Maw, p. 9. Lieutenant Brand was sadly annoyed by the prevailing uncleanness. The men of Lima, he describes as dirty and indolent beyond all others in South America, smoking from morning till night; and the public offices, he always found filled with smoke and the floors disgustingly dirty.

of the snows or the rains that fall in the Interior, by which, at times, it is swelled very much, while at other seasons its channel is in many places almost dry.

Lima enjoys "one of the most delightful climates in the world." To persons, at least, who have been accustomed to the scorching sun and suffocating heat of Bahia, on the opposite side of the Continent, or to those of Cartagena, the mild and equable climate of Lima, Mr. Stevenson says, is as surprising as it is agreeable. "The heat of the sun in summer, is mitigated by a canopy of clouds which constantly hangs over Lima; and although not perceptible from the city, yet, when seen from an elevated situation in the mountains, they appear somewhat like the smoke floating in the atmosphere of large towns where coal is burned." * During the winter months, from April or May to November, damp fogs (called *garuas*) almost constantly prevail, which chill the air, and moisten the ground sufficiently to render the pavement slippery; and during the other part of the year, they take place at the changes of the moon. These mists arrive with the morning breeze, which blows from the westward; and in the middle of the day, during the summer, they are dissipated by the sun's power. In the evening, a south-easterly land-breeze brings them again forward. During the winter months, the sun is often obscured for several succeeding days. While the

* "Notwithstanding that Lima is situated in 12° S. latitude, Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom rises to 70° in the shade. This low temperature is probably caused by the rays of the sun being, for a great part of the year, intercepted by a fleecy or mottled veil of clouds, called by sailors a mackarel sky."—Miller, vol. i. p. 399. Mr. Stevenson states, that the *maximum* heat seldom exceeds 78° of Fahrenheit, and the *minimum* is seldom below 62°. Mr. Caldcleugh says, that the thermometer varies from 61° to 84°, but this must be very unusual.—See Stevenson, vol. i. p. 150.

valley of the Rimac is thus kept in the most fertile state by these wet fogs, the rain falls with great violence in the neighbouring sierra, accompanied with much thunder.* This peculiarity of climate is confined to those parts of Lower Peru where the Cordillera approaches the Pacific. At Guayaquil, on the contrary, where the distance between the mountains and the sea is considerable, the rains are heavy, and the mists of rare occurrence.†

Although Lima is free from the terrific visitation of storms, it is subject to the still more dreadful phenomena of earthquakes. Shocks are felt every year, particularly after the mists disperse, and the summer sun begins to heat the earth. They are commonly felt two or three hours after sunset, or a little before sunrise; and their direction has generally been from S. to N. The most violent have taken place at intervals of about fifty years. Those which have produced the most disastrous consequences at Lima, occurred in the years 1586, 1630, 1687, 1746, and 1806.‡ "It has been remarked," says Mr. Stevenson, "that the vegetable world suffers very much by a great shock. The country about Lima, and all that range of coast, were particularly affected by that which happened in 1678. The crops of wheat, maize, and other grain were entirely destroyed; and for several years afterwards, the ground was totally unproductive. At that period, wheat was first brought from Chile, which

* This last phenomenon is so rare in the valley, that the dates of the thunder-storms are accurately preserved. Since the year 1582, it appears that only four have occurred.

† Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 77. Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 149—158. See also page 4 of this volume.

‡ Their violence seems to have been chiefly felt at Lima, as, at Arequipa and Quito, different years are recorded as the epochs of the most violent. A very severe and destructive earthquake occurred at Lima in March, 1828.

country has ever since been considered as the granary of Lima, Guayaquil, and Panama." Mr. Caldcleugh, adverting to this current statement, suggests as a probable explanation of the phenomenon, that the streams and springs may be affected by the motion of the earth, so that certain localities may be rendered sterile, which were previously fertile, while others may have gained in the same ratio. The climate of Lower Peru, he remarks, owing to the heat, could never have been very favourable to the growth of wheat. It is remarkable, that the great earthquakes of 1687 and 1746 were succeeded by rain; and after the violent shock of 1806, the streets of Lima were almost inundated for several days, a circumstance which must have completed the ruin and terror of the inhabitants.*

The vegetable productions of the country are numerous and of very dissimilar species and habits. While sugar, rice, tobacco, yams, sweet potatoes, and cocoa are raised in the warmest situations, the vine and *quinoa* (*chenipodium*) are planted in colder spots, and potatoes † in the most elevated. The grapes are highly flavoured, but the wine is of inferior

* Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 80. Stevenson, vol. i. p. 161.

† The *papa amarilla*, or yellow potato, is produced in the greatest abundance in the Sierra about thirty leagues N.E. of Lima. The *camotes*, or sweet potatoes, grow as large as in Rio de Janeiro (sometimes weighing ten pounds), and are held in great estimation, especially in Chile. Mr. Caldcleugh states, that the *arracacha*, another valuable esculent, is unknown in Peru; but Mr. Stevenson says, that the white arracacha is cultivated in the valley, though it is neither so large nor so well flavoured as what are produced in a cooler climate: they taste something like a boiled chestnut, and being of easy digestion, are given to the sick and convalescent. The starch made from the root, is used as arrow-root.—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 169.

quality.* Three sorts of maize are cultivated, and this grain appears to have been the principal one in use among the Indians. Great quantities of it have been found deposited in subterranean granaries, where, it is supposed, it must have lain upwards of four hundred years; yet, its nutritive qualities were not destroyed.† Lucern (*alfalfa*) is much cultivated for provender: it generally grows to the height of three feet, and is cut down five times in the year. Culinary vegetables are abundant: the most valuable are the *yuca*, or cassava, and beans (*frijoles*), which last is the principal food of the lower classes. The *tomate* (love-apple) and capsicum of various species are also much cultivated. Olives grow in abundance, and oil is made in considerable quantities, but it is inferior to the French and Italian oils.‡ Apples and pears thrive, but are little cultivated; of peaches, there are several varieties, of which the *aurimelos* and *priscoes* are the most delicate; apricots do well; nectarines, plums, and cherries are scarce. A wild currant is common in some parts both of Peru and Chile, but the fruit is small and bitter. Quinces grow very large; figs are most plentiful and well flavoured; and the pomegranates are very fine. Several kinds of melons are cultivated; and the water-melons (*sandias*) are large and good.

Among the tropical and equinoctial fruits, the plantain and banana ornament the orchards with their

* The colonial laws did not prohibit the vine in Peru and Chile, as they did in Mexico and New Granada; and wines and brandies have been articles of exportation from Mendoza, Valparaiso, and Callao.

† Stevenson, vol. i. p. 166.

‡ The first olive-tree was brought to Peru by D. Antonio de Ribera, a native of Lima, in 1560.

large green leaves, ministering to the luxuries of the rich, and satisfying the hunger of the poor. Four varieties of the *musa* are known in Lima; the platano-arton (*m. paradisiaca*), the camburi or largo (*m. sapientum*), the dominico (*m. regia*), and the *maiga de la isla*.* The sour and sweet orange, the lemon, the lime, the citron, and the shaddock grow in all the gardens. The *lucuma*, a large tree, bears a fruit about the size of an orange, containing within a green rind, three large kidney-shaped kernels covered with a hard shell: the edible part is of a deep yellow, not unlike, in substance and appearance, the yolk of a hard-boiled egg, and is esteemed by many. The *palta* (*laurus Persea*, alligator pear, or vegetable marrow) is a large and handsome tree, bearing a luscious stone-fruit which is eaten with salt and pepper. The *pacay*, a moderate-sized tree, bears a fruit contained in a large green pod, sometimes more than a yard long and three inches broad: the edible part is a soft, cotton-like substance, sweet and juicy, enveloping a black bean: there are several varieties. The *guayaba* or *guaba* grows in great abundance, and some of the species are very good. The *granadilla*, a species of the passion-flower, has a fruit about the size and shape of a duck's egg, with a hardish shell, inclosing a very delicate substance, full of small black seeds, not unlike a ripe gooseberry. The *tumbo* or *badea*, a variety of the granadilla, has fruit as large as a small melon, which it nearly resembles when cut,

* The first plants of this last species were brought from Otaheite in 1769. The banana (in Quichua, *vicuri*) is, however, indigenous, and is found in the interior of Maynas, on the banks of the Ucayale, and to the eastward of Cuzco. Mr. Stevenson states, that he has found beds of leaves of both the banana and the plantain in the *huacas* at Paramongo.

except that the seeds are of a brownish colour: it is prepared for the table, after being cut in slices, with sugar, wine and spice. The *palillo* is the delicate custard-apple, which is very sweet and fragrant: the dried rind is often burned with other perfumes. The *capuli* or cape gooseberry, when ripe, has an agreeable acid taste. But the queen of tropical fruits is the *chirimoya*, (a Quichua term, derived from *chiri*, cold, and *muhu*, seed,) which the first Spaniards who arrived in Peru, described as a net filled with honey. The tree is described by Mr. Stevenson as low and bushy.* The flower, composed of three triangular fleshy petals, has a mean appearance, but its fragrance surpasses that of any other that can be mentioned: one flower will scent a large room, particularly if it be warmed in the hand, but it continues in perfection for only one evening. The fruit has somewhat the shape of a heart; is of a green colour, with a reticulated appearance produced by brownish lines; and contains several blackish seeds about the size of horse-beans: the larger the fruit, the fewer the seeds. The edible part resembles a custard in substance, and is generally eaten with a spoon: the flavour is peculiar and extremely delicate,—"a happy mixture of sweetness and acidity, with a delicious scent." Their

* Mr. Caldcleugh has given a singularly different description of this plant. "The tree is about twelve or fifteen feet high, with branches extending to the ground, and large, broad leaves; the flower is small, of a pink colour, and remarkably sweet scented; the fruit varies in size from an orange to a large melon, and is covered with a smooth green skin; the pulp is white, and either liquid or easily cut with a spoon; enveloping a number of shining black pips of the size of an almond-kernel, which, on exposure to the air, become of a light brown colour. It resembles the custard apple more than any fruit I am acquainted with, but it is very far superior to it. It is considered to be a new species of *annona*."—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 83.

weight, in Lima, is from one to three pounds each; but, in the woods of Huanuco and Loja, they are often found to weigh from fifteen to twenty pounds, and even more. The *guanabana*, or sour-sop, resembles the chirimoya in appearance; but the flower is different, and the fruit, which is generally larger, often grows on the main trunk of the tree, and on the larger branches; while that of the chirimoya grows on the branches when they are two years old: it has a grateful acid taste, and forms an agreeable beverage, dissolved in water, which is afterwards strained and sweetened; a transparent jelly is also obtained from it, which makes a fine preserve. The *pepino* is an egg-shaped fruit, with a smell like a cucumber, and a sweet but peculiar taste, "between a raw vegetable and fruit;" there are several varieties. It is deemed unwholesome, and has acquired the name of *mata-serranos* (kill-mountaineer), from its often proving fatal to the country people, when they come down to the coast, if eaten in large quantities. The pine-apple is not cultivated in Lima, but is brought from the neighbouring valleys, where the climate is hotter.

"The orchards here," Mr. Stevenson says, "unlike those of Europe, are always beautiful: excepting the foreign fruit-trees, which give a wintry appearance when their branches become naked by the falling of the leaves, all the others are evergreens, and appear in the pompous garb of spring during the whole year. The new leaves take possession of their inheritance before the death of their predecessors; and the inflorescence and fructification in many trees, follow the example of the leaf. The highly rich green of the banana and plantain, their enormous leaves rustling with every breeze, and discovering their pendent bunches of fruit; the orange-tree enamelled with

green and white and gold ; the pomegranate with its crimson bell ; the shady chirimoya breathing aromas to the evening breeze ; the tripping granadilla stretching from tree to tree, and begging support for its laden slender branches ; the luxuriant vine creeping over trellisses, and hiding under its cooling leaves the luscious grape ; are beauties certainly not to be surpassed ; but these, and all these, are found in every garden in the valley through which the Rimac meanders.

" The flower-gardens here contain most of the varieties seen in our gardens in England, excepting the family of ranunculuses and tulips, neither of which did I ever see in South America. Indeed, the climate is so favourable to all kinds of vegetation, where water can be procured for irrigation, that little care is required ; but less than what is necessary, is usually bestowed. The ladies are passionately fond of flowers, and will give very high prices for them. I have known a white lily, a little out of season, sold for eight dollars ; and good hyacinths for two or three dollars each ; and I am certain that a clever gardener and florist, who would take to Lima a stock of seeds and roots, would very soon amass a considerable fortune. I have observed, that the generality of the flowers of the indigenous plants are yellow ; and it is a common saying, *Oro en la costa, plata en la sierra*, (gold on the coast, silver in the mountains,) where the general colour of wild flowers is white. The *floripondio* is very much admired by many for its fragrance ; it partakes of that of the lily. The tree is bushy, and grows about ten feet high ; the flowers are white, each about eight inches long, bell-shaped, and hang in clusters. One tree will scent a large garden ; but, if there are more, the smell is overpowering, and pro-

duces head-ache. The *suche* is a great spreading tree, and is filled with clusters of flowers, each about two inches in diameter, which are the largest kind, and others about an inch: they are bell-shaped, and of a fleshy substance; some are white, others yellow, and others of a pink colour; all are very fragant. The *aroma* bears a number of round, yellow, flosculous flowers, deserving their name, for they are most delicately fragrant."*

"The pastilles of Lima," says Mr. Caldcleugh, "are very celebrated, and much used to drive away insects; but, whether the latter have been accustomed to them, I know not. These insects may be considered as the only plagues in this part of the world. The mosquito is not so troublesome as in other warm countries; but fleas, of more than usual size and activity, try the tempers, not only of foreigners, but of the natives, who make war upon them in every way. I never saw such numbers of these disgusting and annoying insects in any other place; they swarmed like flies on the sea-beach. The 'other entomological production incident to beds,' is far too common."†

During March and April, and at the beginning of autumn, intermittent fevers are common, particularly the tertian; but, with this exception, Lima is not subject to epidemic disease; and, upon the whole, the climate is deemed salubrious. Those who outlive fifty years, generally attain the age of eighty and upwards, for which reason, Lima has been called "the paradise of the old." Asthmas, coughs, and other diseases of the lungs, which are generally confined to colder regions, are, however, common. The change of climate is severely felt by the inhabitants of the Sierra, who

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 338—340. † Caldcleugh, vol. ii. pp. 85, 6.

seldom remain long on the coast without suffering from fevers of an intermittent or an inflammatory description.*

"The majority of the men of Lima," says Mr. Miller, "have the appearance of being feeble and emaciated. These physical effects are certainly not attributable to climate alone, but may be ascribed also to the general dissoluteness which characterized the old regime: in proof of which, those who have latterly grown to maturity, shewed themselves, during the campaigns, to be hardy, enterprising, and infinitely superior to their predecessors, who had been taught to cringe to Spanish satraps, and to familiarize their minds with every species of meanness. Hence, the duplicity, dishonesty, shameful political inconsistency, and total want of public spirit evinced by some few who have attained office since the overthrow of the all-debasing European despotism. From the rising generation in Peru, higher expectations may be formed. The youth generally possess great natural vivacity as well as talent, and are impelled by an honest ambition to render themselves useful to their country. The climate of Lima seems to be favourable to the quickening of the intellectual faculties." †

The Traveller who has given the most favourable account of the people of Lima, (although he is not

* Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 81. Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 344—348. *Berrugos*, warts of a peculiar kind, are common in some of the valleys on the coast. In some of the valleys of Peru, a dreadful cutaneous disease prevails, called the *uta*. A hard red tumour, supposed to proceed from the sting of a small insect, is the first symptom. This bursts, leaving an incurable sore, which extends, and ultimately proves fatal. In 1803, a new disease made its appearance in the valley of Huaura, called by the natives *grano de la peste* (pest pimple), which appears to have been of a very anomalous and dreadful character.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 405.

very partial, and scarcely just, towards the old Spaniards,) is Mr. Stevenson. "A Creole of Lima," he says, "partakes in many respects of the character of an Andalusian: he is lively, generous, and careless of to-morrow; fond of dress and variety; slow to revenge injuries, and willing to forget them. Of all his vices, dissipation certainly is the greatest. His conversation is quick and pointed. That of the fair sex is extremely gay and witty, giving them an open frankness which some foreigners have been pleased to term levity, or something a little more dishonourable, attaching the epithet immoral to their general character." * This Traveller chivalrously defends the ladies of Lima against this imputation; asserting, that the female Creoles are generally kind mothers and faithful wives; that "conjugal and paternal affection, filial piety, beneficence, generosity, good-nature, and hospitality, are the inmates of almost every house." The testimonies and opinions of foreign visiters are to be received with caution, whether they incline to a favourable or an uncandid view of the state of society. But there is a well known proverbial description of the Peruvian capital, which will probably be thought to have some truth for its foundation. Lima has been styled "the heaven of women, the purgatory of husbands, and the hell of asses." The first expression is explained, as referring to the power the ladies exercise, and the consideration they enjoy: the second does not favour the representation, that conjugal happiness is very general.

With regard to the personal attractions of the Limeñas, our authorities equally differ. Lieutenant

* Stevenson, vol. i. p. 295.

Brand represents their walking dress as indelicate and disgusting ;* and he would infer from their very costume the extreme laxity of morals. We shall give Mr. Stevenson's description of this singular costume.

" The walking dress of the females of all descriptions, is the *saya y manto*. The former is a petticoat of velvet, satin, or stuff, generally black or of a cinnamon colour, plaited in very small folds, and rather elastic ; it sits close to the body, and shews its shape to the utmost possible advantage. At the bottom, it is too narrow to allow the wearer to step forward freely, but the short step rather adds to, than deprives her of a graceful air. This part of the dress is often tastefully ornamented round the bottom with lace, fringe, spangles, pearls, artificial flowers, or whatever may be considered fashionable. Among ladies of the higher order, the saya is of different colours,—purple, pale blue, lead colour, or striped. The manto is a hood of thin black silk, drawn round the waist, and then carried over the head ; by closing it before, they can hide the whole of the face, one eye alone being visible ; sometimes, they shew half the face, but this depends

* Brand, p. 183. " I call it disgusting," he says, " because it was the first impression I felt on seeing it, and that impression was not worn off when I left ; although many of my countrymen were in raptures with it, and termed it elegant." Mr. Mathison remarks, that the manner in which the elastic *saya* exhibits the shape, " would be considered indelicate *elsewhere*." Lieutenant Maw says : " I do not consider that the *saya* and *manto*, worn by the ladies of Lima, of which much has been said in various descriptions of the city, set off a fine figure in the manner generally supposed. The *saya* fits tight round the hips, but the front and lower part of the person are not shewn to advantage. This costume seems to have originated in depraved taste and corrupt habits. Since the Revolution, it is getting into disuse."—Maw, p. 15.

on the choice of the wearer. A fine shawl or handkerchief, hanging down before, a rosary in the hand, silk stockings, and satin shoes, complete the costume.

"The hood is, undoubtedly, derived from the Moors; and, to a stranger, it has a very curious appearance; however, I confess that I became so reconciled to the sight, that I thought, and still think it, both handsome and genteel. This dress is peculiar to Lima; indeed, I never saw it worn anywhere else in South America. It is certainly very convenient, for, at a moment's notice, a lady can, without the necessity of changing her under dress, put on her *saya y manto*, and go out; and no female will walk in the street in any other in the day time. For the evening promenade, an English dress is often adopted: but in general, a large shawl is thrown over the head, and a hat is worn over all. Between the folds of the shawl, it is not uncommon to perceive a lighted cegar; for, although several of the fair sex are addicted to smoking, none of them choose to practise it openly.

"When the ladies appear on public occasions, at the theatre, bull circus, and *pascos* (promenades), they are dressed in the English or French costume; but they are always very anxious to exhibit a profusion of jewellery, to which they are particularly partial. A lady, in Lima, would much rather possess an extensive collection of precious gems, than a gay equipage. They are immoderately fond of perfumes, and spare no expense in procuring them. It is a well known fact, that many poor females attend at the archbishop's gate, and, after receiving a pittance, immediately purchase with the money *agua rica*, or some other scented water. Even the ladies, not content with the natural fragrance of flowers, often add to it and spoil it by sprinkling them with lavender water, spirit of musk,

or ambergris, and often by fumigating them with gum-benzoin, musk, and amber, particularly the *mistura*, which is a compound of jessamine, wall-flowers, orange-flowers, and others, picked from the stalks. Small apples and green limes are also filled with slices of cinnamon and cloves. The mixture is generally to be found on a salver at a lady's toilette. They will distribute it among their friends, by asking for a pocket handkerchief, tying up a small quantity in the corner, and sprinkling it with some perfume, expecting the compliment, 'that it is most delicately seasoned.'" *

The custom of wearing these veils, or going *tapada* (as it is called), which the Spaniards adopted from the Moors, has been interdicted in Spain, under heavy penalties, by repeated edicts, but always without effect; and in 1609, an attempt was made to enforce the prohibition at Lima, but the Viceroy discouraged it as impracticable. The ladies, Mr. Caldcleugh tells us, advance many substantial and unanswerable reasons for not changing this custom: "The sun scorches their faces, and they would be prevented from visiting the sick, and performing charitable actions without publicity." The freedom allowed by it, another Traveller assures us, is almost unbounded. "They live, in fact, when abroad, in a perpetual masquerade, nothing affording them more amusement than to deceive their acquaintance, by passing themselves off as strangers, or to watch their movements, and listen to their conversation, unobserved. At public places, and on occasions such as that above described, they permit any gentleman of genteel exterior to address them, and converse, without previous introduction. They even stop at the windows of rooms

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 300—302.

on the ground floor, and converse with or pay gentlemen visits in their own houses, two or three of them together; but, in that case, always without discovering themselves, and checking any attempt to remove the silken mask, which would, indeed, be immediately resented as an unpardonable insult."*

Within the house, the costume has nothing remarkable. The hair is ornamented with flowers, and a black veil is thrown back on the head.† "The manners of the ladies," says Mr. Caldcleugh, "are extremely agreeable, and they are as kind and attentive to foreigners as the Spanish women everywhere shew themselves. In their persons, they are extremely cleanly, taking the cold bath several times a day; although it must be stated, that they smoke a little, and occasionally take snuff. They get rid of the unpleasantness which attends the former operation, by chewing paper. It is not unusual for them to smoke a little at the theatre; but they always choose small cigars, and, placing their fan before them, retire to the back of the box. This custom may, therefore, be considered as on the wane.‡ It proceeds in a great measure from the almost constant fogs which prevail in Lima, and from an idea, not without foundation, that it prevents stomach-attacks."§

"Perhaps," says Mr. Miller, "the proportionable number of *very* handsome women, is smaller in Lima

* Mathison, p. 233.

† Lieutenant Brand represents the ladies as "very untidy in doors," slovenly and dirty, never wearing stays, a loose shawl thrown over their bare neck, their front hair in papers without cap, &c. It is not, however, every English lady who would wish to be caught and described in her morning undress.

‡ The inveterate custom of smoking in the theatre, was abolished by a public decree under the Protectorate.

§ Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 65.

than in Guayaquil,* and in some other South American towns; but there is, in the manner of the Limeña, a spell, which gives her an influence over the other sex, unknown elsewhere. The Limeñas are esteemed warm in their attachments, but somewhat inconstant." Black eyes, with delicately arched eye-brows, black ringlets, finely turned arms, prettily shaped hands, feet so bewitchingly small, that they might almost delight a Chinese, and a figure, small and slender, constitute the charms of a Lima belle. We have not enumerated among their attractions, a sallow complexion; but, to the credit of the ladies, Mr. Stevenson says, they are not in the habit of using cosmetics. The Guayaquilenas differ very remarkably from the Limeñas; they have complexions as fair and clear as any Europeans, with blue eyes and light hair, although Guayaquil lies within little more than 2° S. of the Equator, and the climate is excessively hot. "Some people," says Captain Basil Hall, "ascribe the fairness of the women there, and the wonderful permanence of their good looks, to the moisture of the air."† The true explanation, doubtless, is, that they are descended from settlers of a different race. The whole character of the people of Lima, physical and moral, as well as their manners and customs, is Andalusian. The mixed castes, however, especially the *Quarterons* and *Quinterons*, are often fair, with light eyes and hair.

Among other amusements introduced by the early Spaniards, the bull-fights were formerly conducted at Lima with an *éclat* that rivalled those of Seville;‡

* "Some of the most beautiful women in Lima," Mr. Caldcleugh says, "are natives of Guayaquil."

† Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 109.

‡ See Mod. Trav., Spain, vol. i. p. 362; vol. ii. p. 16.

and the death of the bull was an object of as much interest to the ladies of the Peruvian capital, as the death of the hare to the English huntress, or the winning horse to the titled dames at Newmarket or Doncaster. The amphitheatre (*Circo de Toro*) in which the bull-fights were held, Mr. Miller says, is the best constructed and most convenient place of public amusement in Lima. "The exterior wall is a circuit of about half a mile in circumference. Three tiers of boxes inclose an uncovered arena. The seats accommodate 10,000 spectators, and, whenever this favourite diversion takes place, are crowded as well with beauty and rank as with the motley and variously tinged population."* But this inhuman pastime was abolished by San Martin.† We know not whether "the royal cock-pit," formerly a daily resort, still exists.

Gambling was formerly carried on to a great extent in Lima, but much more in the higher circles than in the lower. No public gaming-houses were permitted under the viceroyalty, and the police were on the alert wherever a house was suspected; but private parties were very common, particularly at the country houses of the nobility, and at the bathing-places of Miraflores, Chorillos, and Lurin. The tables, although in the houses of noblemen, would be free to all, the master and slave, the marquis and the mechanic, mixing indiscriminately; and the priests were among the most regular and adventurous attendants. Buena-

* Miller, vol. i. p. 392. The bulls destined for the ring, were obtained chiefly from the woods in the valleys of Chincha, about sixty leagues from Lima, where they are bred in a wild state.

† Bull-fights were suppressed in the Peninsula by the Cortes and their example was followed by the Governments of Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and Chile, and finally by that of Lima, under the Protector, in 1822.

vista, a seat of the late Marquess of Montemira, six leagues from Lima, was the Sunday rendezvous of every fashionable of the capital, who had a few doubloons to risk on the turn of a card.* "So strong was this ruling passion," says Mr. Miller, "that when the patriot army has been closely pursued by the royalists, and pay has been issued to lighten the military chest, the officers, upon halting, would spread their *ponchos* on the ground, and play until it was time to resume the march; and this was frequently done even on the eve of a battle. Soldiers on piquet often gambled within sight of an enemy's advanced post. A Colombian officer intrusted with two or three months' pay belonging to Colonel Don Thomas Heras, lost the amount, and, being unable to replace it, attempted to pass over to the royalists, but, being taken at a patriot outpost, was shot by order of General Bolivar. Perhaps no other vice, singly, produced so many drawbacks to the patriot cause, as the unfortunate propensity to play, on the part of ministers, envoys, and officers of all ranks, who too frequently dissipated public property intrusted to their care. Insubordination, desertion, and occasional defeat, and a prolongation of the miseries of war, were some of the natural consequences of the unhappy propensity.....It speaks much in favour of the Revolution, that this vice is sensibly diminishing in Peru; and to the unfortunate Monteagudo belongs the honour of having been the first to attempt its eradication." † The houses of the great, which used

* "On one occasion, a fortunate player, the celebrated Baquijano, was under the necessity of sending for a bullock-car, to convey his winnings, amounting to above 30,000 dollars. A mule, thus laden with specie, was a common occurrence."

† Miller, vol. i. pp. 402—5.

to be converted into nocturnal gambling-houses, are now more innocently enlivened by music and dancing; and political and literary coteries, formerly unknown, have lessened the numbers of the votaries of fortune. A generation or two must pass away, however, before a habit so general and so inveterate can be altogether rooted out. Balls were not very frequent at Lima, previously to the entrance of the patriots. When San Martin established his head-quarters there, he gave an assembly once a week at the palace. "At first," we are told, "the ladies, who had been accustomed only to minuets, the *fandango*, *mariquita*, and *guachambai*, were not perfectly *au fait* at country dances; but they were apt scholars, and soon became graceful dancers, and passionately fond of that amusement." *

Of the mixed castes, who form a considerable proportion of the population of Lima, Mr. Stevenson gives the following description.

"The *Mestizo* (the offspring of a White and an Indian) is generally very strong, of a swarthy complexion, with but little beard. He is kind, affable, and generous, and particularly inclined to mix in the society of white people; very serviceable, and something like the *Gallegos* in Spain. In some parts of the Interior, there are great numbers of mestizoes: here, their colour is whiter, and they have blue eyes and fair hair during childhood, but both become darker as they advance in years.

"The Mulatto is seldom so robust as his parents: he appears of a delicate constitution.† Fond of dress

* Miller, vol. i. p. 402.

† Notwithstanding their mental vivacity, Mr. Miller says, the Mulattoes do not make as good soldiers as the Indians, in consequence of their inferiority in bodily strength and in the power of resisting the cold of the mountains.

and parade, of a fiery imagination and inclined to talk, he is often eloquent, and very partial to poetry. Many Mulattoes in Lima obtain a good education by accompanying their young masters to school while children, and afterwards attending them at college. It is very common, at a public disputation in the University, to hear a Mulatto in the gallery help out a wrangler with a syllogism. They are generally called *palanganos* (chatterers). Many of the surgeons here are Mulattoes, and frequently do great honour to themselves, and credit to their profession.* Some of the females have agreeable countenances and fine figures; they are witty, generous, and remarkably faithful in their connexions; they are often the confidential servants in rich families, and have the direction of all domestic concerns. Occasionally they are the duennas of the young ladies. They are very fond of dress, dancing, and public amusements, where they generally appear with their curly hair scarcely reaching to their shoulders, adorned with jessamine and other flowers: in the evening, they will sometimes fill their hair with jessamine buds, which, in the course of an hour, will open and present the appearance of a bushy powdered wig.

"The *Quarteron* † and *Quinteron* (the mixed castes

* From the church and the bar, they were excluded by the laws of the Indies; but many have acquired a knowledge of medicine, and some of those who have been regularly educated, have risen to eminence. Their nickname has been acquired by their extreme volubility. "Sermons and their preachers," Mr. Miller says, "are favourite objects of their criticisms. They remember, with provoking accuracy, sermons preached several years before; and when a friar repeats an old discourse, the *palangano* manifests his detection by violent gesticulation. Sometimes, a *palangano* not only remembers an entire sermon, but will versify it on the repetition."—Miller, vol. i. p. 406.

† The low and narrow forehead betrays the Mestizo. In the

between the White and the Mulatto or Mestizo) are often handsome, have good figures, a fair complexion, with blue eyes and light hair; they are mild and obliging, but have not the intrepidity or lively imagination of the Mulatto.

"The *Zamboes* (between the Negro and the Mulatto) are more robust than the Mulattoes; they are morose and stubborn, partaking very much of the character of the African Negro, but prone to more vices. A greater number of robberies and murders are committed by this caste, than by all the rest, except the *Chino* (Negro and Indian), the worst mixed breed in existence: he is cruel, revengeful, and unforgiving; very ugly, as if his soul were expressed in his features; lazy, stupid, and provoking; he is low in stature, and, like the Indian, has little or no beard, but very harsh black hair inclined to curl.

"The Negro Creole is generally more athletic than his African parents: he has no more virtues than they have, but he has commonly more vices; he seems to be more awake to revenge, and less timid of the consequences; he considers himself as better than the *Bozales*, (the name given to African slaves,) and will rarely intermarry with them."*

"The Indians who reside in Lima, have become

Mestizo-quarteron, the size and shape of the forehead are also distinguishing marks, together with a small rising about the middle of the nose, and some dark stains on different parts of the body: "particularly one below the region of the kidneys, which is always the last that disappears, though often not before the fourth or fifth generation, bespeaks a mixture of the Indian race. The mothers of Mestizoes generally begin very early to plait the hair of their children, dragging it back from the forehead and temples in very small plaits, for the purpose of enlarging that feature."—Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 301.

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 307—309.

such exact imitators of the Creoles in dress and manners, that, were it not for their copper-coloured faces, it would be difficult to distinguish them. Their principal occupation is the making of fringes, gold and silver lace, epaulettes and embroidery; some are tailors, others attend the markets, but very few are servants or mechanics." *

The scanty remnant of the aboriginal population in the neighbourhood of Lima, presents hardly a fair specimen of the Indian race. At Chorillo, "the Brighton of Lima," about eight miles from the capital, the permanent inhabitants are for the most part Indian fishermen. Mr. Mathison, who visited this place in 1822, gives the following description of them. "The Indians whom I saw, presented no very interesting appearance; yet, their condition is not worse than that of the lowest orders in most countries. They subsist on fish and maize, and the sugar-cane, of which there are some plantations in the neighbourhood. The men dress like the Spanish Creoles, in the *poncho*, and the women wear a loose petticoat and shawl of thick woollen stuff, manufactured from the wool of the llama. Their jet black hair is plaited with careful nicety, and falls down behind in a number of small ringlets, or, more correctly speaking, tails. They pay no attention to their persons, which are loathsome and dirty beyond description.† Perhaps, the *Coyas* and Virgins of the Sun,

* The trades are chiefly followed by the Mulattoes, who discover great aptitude for mechanical arts, becoming excellent shoemakers, tailors, barbers, carpenters, &c.

† "The lower classes seldom take off their clothes to sleep. They have a common saying, that water is unworthy of hands and face, and soap is a betrayer (*El agua es indigno, y el jabon traidor*). An appearance of comfort might invite extortion; or perhaps the extreme aridity of the climate in the interior, may be one of the

being of higher rank and lineage, were possessed of greater personal attractions in ancient times; but if we may judge of the then Indian race by what we see of their posterity in these days, the beauty which has been so long celebrated throughout Europe, must be altogether a poetic fiction. The Peruvian countenance is marked with nearly the same features which characterise all aboriginal Americans: small eyes, broad, flat nose, high cheek-bones, black, shaggy hair, and dark copper-coloured complexion. There seemed to me very little difference between these Indians and the Puris, whom I had seen at Aldea da Pedra in Brazil, except that the latter appear evidently to be more civilized." *

Mr. Stevenson gives a similar description of the physical characteristics of the Indians of the coast. "They are of a copper complexion, with a small forehead, the hair growing on each side from the extremities of the eye-brows; they have small black eyes, small nose, the nostrils not protruding like those of the African; a moderately-sized mouth with beautiful teeth; beardless chin, (except in old age,) and a round face. Their hair is black, coarse, and sleek, without any inclination to curl. The body is well proportioned, and the limbs are well turned: they have small feet. Their stature is rather diminutive, but they are inclined to corpulency, when they become inactive; and it is a common saying, that a jolly person is *tan gordo como un cacique*, as fat as a cacique. In the colder

causes of this antipathy to cleanliness. The skin of the face of a newly arrived European peels off, and the lips swell and become chapped to a painful degree. Ablution is supposed to increase it." —Miller, vol. ii. p. 227.

* Mathison, pp. 279, 280. For a description of the Puri Indians, see MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. i. p. 213.

climates, although in the same latitude, the complexion of the Indians is lighter, owing perhaps to the cold; however, the Araucanians, who enjoy a much colder climate, are of a dark copper colour." *

In direct contradiction, however, to what has been asserted by other Travellers respecting their habits, this Writer represents the Indians as cleanly in their persons, and particularly so in their food; abstemious in general, although, at their feasts, addicted to excess, but not habitual drunkards. "They are industrious in the cultivation of their farms and gardens, attentive to their other occupations, and faithful to their engagements. They know the value of riches, strive to obtain them, and are fond of being considered rich. Infidelity between man and wife is rare; and they are kind parents, which generally makes their children grateful, as well as dutiful." Speaking of the Indians generally, this Traveller warmly repels the aspersions of the Spanish writers; remarking, that "the numbers of Indians who receive holy orders, natives of the coast as well as of the Interior, is a convincing proof that they are not destitute of understanding, nor incapable of at least becoming literary characters, if not learned men. Some have shone at the bar, in the audiences of Lima, Cuzco, Chuquisaca, and Quito.† Extreme cowardice has also been attributed to the Indians; but this imputation very ill accords with the character of the tribes of Araucania or Darien. During the present

* Stevenson, vol. i. p. 376.

† Manco Yupanqui of Lima, late Protector-general of the Indians, was a good Latin scholar, well versed in English and French, and was considered as the only good Greek scholar in the city. Don Jose Huapayo, vice-rector of the college of *Del Principe*, was another man of distinguished talents.

contest in South America, the Indians have sustained more than their share in fighting; and had the unfortunate Pumacagua of Cuzco *, or Pucatoro of Huamanga, been supplied with arms and ammunition, they would not have been subdued by Ramirez and Maroto." †

We shall have occasion to advert again to the character of the aborigines; and must now take leave of the Peruvian metropolis, and its various population, in order to transport our readers at once into the interior. In describing the principal city of the Spanish colonists, we describe all the inferior ones, the only difference consisting in the local situation and their comparative magnitude and wealth. The ancient capital of the Incas, however, is well deserving of distinct description.

CUZCO.

THE city of Cuzco is situated about 550 miles E.S.E. of Lima, in latitude 13° 42′ S., longitude 71° 4′ W. It is built upon very uneven ground, in the midst of a fertile and extensive valley, watered by the small river Guatanay, which is, however, nearly dry, except for three months in the year. According to the received tradition, it was founded in the year 1043, by Manco Capac, the first Inca, and was divided into *Hanam Cozco* and *Hurin Cozco*, the Upper and Lower Towns. The name of the city is said to signify the centre.‡ It was indeed, we are told, the only place in the native dominions of the Incas, that had the appearance of a city. The grandeur and mag-

* See page 73 of this volume.

† Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 389—391.

‡ *Coozcoo* (as Mr. Miller writes the original name) appears to answer in signification to the Ομφαλος or *Umbilicus terrarum* o the ancients.

nificence of the edifices, especially the fortress and the temple of the Sun, "the Capitol and Coliseum of the Peruvian Rome," struck the Spaniards with astonishment, when, in 1534, Pizarro took possession of the city. Of the Temple of the Sun, Mr. Miller says, there remain only some walls of singular construction, upon which is raised the Dominican convent, a most magnificent structure. The high altar stands in the very place where the golden image of the Peruvian Bel was formerly adored. The chambers of the Virgins of the Sun are now occupied by holy friars; and fields of corn and lucern have usurped the place of the royal gardens and menageries, once crowded with fantastic ornaments, many of them representing gigantic shrubs and flowers, in massive silver and gold.

"Not far from the temple is the spot where the first Spaniards formed their *quartel* or intrenched encampment, in which, whenever overpowered by numbers, they took refuge, and sustained a siege. According to monastic tradition, the Peruvians, on one occasion, set fire to the defences; but, at the moment the besieged were on the point of perishing, the Virgin Mary descended in a cloud to their succour, extinguished the flames, and gave a decisive victory to the exterminating propagators of the holy catholic faith. The cathedral erected near this spot, exists in pristine splendour, and contains a chapel, called *Nuestra Señora del Triunfo*, built to commemorate this miracle.

"Upon a lofty hill, a little to the north of the city, stand the ruins of a mighty fortress, many parts of the walls of which are still in perfect preservation. They are built of stones of extraordinary magnitude, of polyangular shapes, and of different dimensions,

placed one upon another without any sort of cement, but fitted with such nicety as not to admit the insertion of a needle between them. It is surprising, and still unexplained, how or by what machinery the Peruvians could have conveyed and raised these enormous masses to such heights; and it is equally extraordinary how the diversified angles of the blocks could have been fitted with such minute precision.*

"The cathedral, the convent of St. Augustine, and that of La Merced, are stupendous buildings, inferior in architecture and magnificence to few ecclesiastical structures in the Old World. The walls of many of the houses have remained unaltered for centuries. The great size of the stones, the variety of their shapes, and the inimitable workmanship they display, give to the city that interesting air of antiquity and romance, which fills the mind with pleasing though painful veneration; and excite feelings of abhorrence and regret that any portion of such admirable specimens of the arts, which, in days so far remote, flourished among the subjects of the children of the sun, should have been defaced or destroyed by the wanton barbarity of Europeans." †

* The stones of the walls of Cuzco have seldom fewer than from six to nine angles. Ulloa states, that the interstices formed by these enormous masses are filled with smaller ones, and so closely joined as not to be perceived without a very narrow inspection. "One of these large stones," he adds, "is still lying on the ground, and seems not to have been applied to the use intended. It is called *La Cansada* (the troublesome)."—Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 615.

† Miller, vol. ii. pp. 223—225. "The other notable things at Cuzco," Alcedo says, "are the baths, the one of warm, and the other of cold water; the ruins of a large stone-way, which was built by order of the Incas, and which reached as far as Lima; and the vestiges of some subterraneous passages which led to the fortress from the palaces of the Incas: the walls were cut very crooked, admitting, for a certain space, only one person to pass at a time; and the exit was by a rock worked in the same narrow manner.

Cuzco, which still ranks as the second city in Peru, is stated to contain, according to Alcedo, a population of 26,000 souls, having been much diminished by the plague of 1720. Mr. Miller, however, states, that in 1825, it contained above 40,000 inhabitants. When the patriot army entered Cuzco, the natives are represented to have testified their satisfaction "by the performance of solemn *fêtes*, most of which had been strictly forbidden by the Spaniards, as they all had some reference to their ancient Incas. They got up processions almost daily, in which their masks, their grotesque party-coloured dresses, and their lofty ostrich plumes, contrasting with the sadly plaintive style of their music, formed a most interesting and illustrative exhibition. Their musical instruments consist of something like bagpipes, tambourines, drums, cow-horns, and a kind of Pandean pipe. They sang their *yaravis*, or plaintive ditties, while their mild, dejected expression of countenance corresponded well to the mournful tune. Their very dances partook of the melancholy character which ages of misery have imparted to them. One of them is a sort of quadrille, in which eighteen or twenty persons gently glide through the figure with an air of innate placidity." *

"Twenty leagues to the eastward (of Cuzco) commence the territories inhabited by unsubdued tribes, who allow no stranger to penetrate into their country." The diocese of Cuzco extends southward as far as the northern shores of Lake Titicaca, comprising the provinces of Lampa † and Caravaya in the department of

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 227.

† Lampa, the jurisdiction of which begins thirty leagues south of Cuzco, is, according to Ulloa, the principal of the provinces included under the the name of *Collao*. The meaning of this word is not given, nor does it occur as the name of a region in Alcedo. But we have Paucarcolla as an adjoining province, and Collahuas as

Puno, which are rich in mines. Towards the south-west, it includes the province of Aymaraes; and up to the year 1609, it included the city of Arequipa. To the south of Cuzco, and to the east of Lake Titicaca, is the elevated plain of Tiahuanaco, where there still exist remains of ancient edifices, built in the same "Cyclopean" style as the walls of the fortress of Cuzco, and exciting astonishment by the immensity of the stones. "They seem never to have been finished, and at the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives attributed the construction of them to a race of white and bearded men who inhabited the ridge of the Cordilleras long before the foundation of the empire of the Incas." * The wish expressed by Humboldt many years ago, that some learned traveller could explore these provinces, the seat of an extinct civilization, still remains unfulfilled. Of Cuzco itself, we regret that we have no adequate description. The information furnished by Ulloa, Alcedo, and the other Spanish writers, is vague and uninteresting; and the interior of Peru may still be regarded as almost unknown country.

Of the department of Puno, of which General Miller was for a short time prefect, and which comprises the northern portion of the basin of Lake Titicaca, we have the following account.

"The department of Puno is composed of the five provinces of Guancani, Lampa, Asangaro, Caravaya, and Chucuito. It contains about 300,000 souls, five-sixths of whom are aborigines. Puno, the capital, has about 7,000 inhabitants. The surface of the

another; and "*y Colla*" is adjoined to the names of two other districts. Caravaya is sometimes written Callavaya; and the name seems to refer to the aboriginal tribe of Callavayas.—See Miller, vol. ii. p. 239.

* Humboldt's Researches, vol. ii. p. 9.

country is nearly all table-land, and, in few places, less than 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. The climate is cold, as compared with the coast, and very healthy. Its productions are cattle, in great abundance, barley, always cut green for horses, and potatoes. It has also some manufactories of woollens, and supplies Arequipa and Lima with those articles. The llama, the vicuña, the guanáco, and the alpáca,* are very numerous in this district. The llama is peculiar to the Peruvian Andes, and of great use, particularly on roads impassable for mules, or in places where forage is scarce. It is said to be a link in the animal kingdom between the camel and the sheep. It is woolly and of various colours. It is employed in carrying ores from the mines, charcoal, corn, &c. If the load exceed eighty pounds, or if the llama be made to perform more than three or four leagues a day, it becomes sulky and dejected, and lies down and dies. One of the great advantages of using the llama is, that two or three pounds of straw will suffice it for twenty-four hours. It will not travel at night. It is remarkable, that, if offended, it will spit at its keeper or driver, and the person who feeds it, as well as a stranger. The llama is subject to attacks of ague when driven to the sultry districts on the coast. Alpácas are kept in flocks for the sake of their wool. The vicuña, more elegant and more graceful, perhaps, than the antelope, runs wild upon the Andes. Some attempts have been made to bring them to Great Britain, for the purpose of naturalizing them in the coldest districts of Scotland; but the animals put on board ship have never weathered the heat of the

* There is a llama and an alpáca in the Zoological Gardens, in the Regent's Park. The former is not a handsome one. Mr. Barclay, of Bury Hill, has a much finer one.

tropics, and seldom lived to reach so far north as the line.

" Puno has many silver mines. The most noted is that of Laycacota or of Salcedo, as it is now called from the name of its first proprietor.* This rich mine lay neglected (from the time of an unsuccessful attempt to work it in 1740) until 1826, when it was granted to Colonel O'Brien; and the work of completing the adit by cutting through the porphyritic rock, has been resumed.....It appears (from the records of Chucuito) that the ore extracted in one year (1668) from the mines of Salcedo, produced upwards of a million and a half of dollars, as proved by the amount of duties paid to the king." †

LAKE TITICACA.

The Lake of Chucuito or Titicaca is situated between the two Cordilleras, and is inclosed by the surrounding mountains. Its circumference is about 240 miles; and in many places, it is more than 480 feet in depth. It receives several rivers, but its only outlet is the Desaguadero, (or drain,) which flows from it into the Lake Paria, and is there apparently lost. There is, reason, however, to believe that the waters have a subterranean vent.‡ The storms that rush from the

* Ulloa states, that the silver extracted from this mine was so pure that it was commonly cut out of the lode with a chisel. This wealth proved fatal to its owner, who, on the charge of being implicated in some local disturbances in which he had taken no part, was taken up and executed; the envy of his riches being the real occasion of his death. The most extraordinary stories are still current of his generosity and munificence; and it is believed, that a considerable spring issued forth and overflowed the mine, on the day of his death.

† Miller, vol. ii. pp. 233, 4.

‡ The Lake of Paria is from three to four leagues in length, and two in width, and, like that of Titicaca, abounds in excellent fish;

Andes, render the navigation of the Great Lake dangerous for ships. Its waters are said to be "bitter," and impure; yet, they are drunk by the cattle, and even by the Indians, and they abound with trout and other fish, (*armantos*, *çuches*, and *boquillas*,) and flocks of wild fowl haunt its shores.

The lake takes its name of Titicaca (signifying the leaden mountain) from the principal island, on which the natives believe that Manco Capac had his first residence, and received his Divine commission. The island was consequently held in great veneration, and the succeeding Incas erected there a magnificent temple, the walls of which are said to have been covered with gold. As every Peruvian was annually obliged to visit this temple, and to bring an offering to its shrine, the riches accumulated here were immense; but when the country was conquered by the Spaniards, the natives, to hinder their taking possession of the temple, razed its walls, and threw all its wealth into the lake. Such, at least, is the tradition.* Throughout the island, Alcedo tells us, there are now found no vestiges of that grandeur which is exhibited in the edifices of

its waters, therefore, are doubtless fresh. Alcedo says, that it is found in fact to have a whirlpool, where some old rafts were sucked down, and that the water is thought to find a passage into the sea under the Cordillera and through the shore, close to the port of Iqueique. "In 1748, its waters increased to an immense height, and it was concluded, that some raft had blocked up its subterranean passage; a circumstance most likely, since, after a time, they subsided to their ordinary state."—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. iv. p. 56. This seems a repetition of the phenomenon presented by the lakes of Metapa and Atitan in Guatemala.—See MOD. TRAV., Mexico, &c. vol. ii. pp. 212, 259.

* "It is confidently and repeatedly asserted by the Indians, that the greater part of the riches of the country was thrown into this lake when the Spaniards entered it; and amongst other valuables, the great gold chain made by the order of the Inca Huayanacap, which was 233 yards in length, and within which 6000 men could dance"!!—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. 465.

Tiahuanaco; but the celebrated sanctuary of Our Lady of Copac-avana may probably occupy the site of the golden temple. The island is three leagues in length by one in width, five in circumference, and one mile from the shore of the lake. It is mountainous, and for the most part uncultivated, but very fertile, being naturally irrigated by thirteen streams, and abounding with flowers and fruit; its pastures feed much cattle, and in the woods are found wild rabbits and pigeons.*

Near the southern extremity of the lake, the banks approach each other, and form a bay, which terminates in the Rio Desaguadero. A bridge of rushes was thrown over it by Yupanqui Capac, the fifth Inca, and by this means, the Peruvian army advanced to the conquest of Charcas. The river is about 80 yards in width, and flows with an impetuous under-current. The bridge was five yards in breadth, and nearly two above the river. It was repaired every six months, in pursuance of a law made by the Incas, and, on account of its great utility, adopted by the Spanish Government.

How far the Quichua language prevails, we have no distinct information; but at La Paz, or Chuquiaco, in Bolivia, 288 miles S.S.E. of Cuzco, the vernacular language of the natives is the Aimara. A third language, called the Moxa, is spoken on the banks of the Mamore.† The most southern department of Upper

* Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. p. 465; vol. iv. p. 568.—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 430. The islands, Alcedo says, were formerly inhabited by a wretched tribe called the *Uros*, who, having been prevailed upon to leave them for the main land, now reside in miserable caves and holes, or huts covered with the *totora*, (or cats-tail, apparently a species of flag, which grows to the length of a yard and a half, of which also they make their rafts,) maintaining themselves by fishing.

† The Quichua or Inca language, with some variation, con-

Peru is that of Potosi, which comprises the provinces of Porco, Chayanta, Lipes, Chichas, and Atacama, containing a population of about 300,000 souls, two-thirds of whom are of the aboriginal race. Of the capital of this department, Mr. Miller gives the following description.

POTOSI.

"THE town of Potosi, the capital of the department, is situated about 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, in the province of Porco, in latitude 19° 51′, and longitude 60° 31′ W. from Cadiz. Upon the accidental discovery of its mineral riches in 1545,* it was named an *Asiento*, or mine-station; but, in process of time, it was raised to the rank of a town, and made the capital of an *intendencia*. In 1611, the town contained 150,000 inhabitants, according to a census taken by order of the *Intendente* Bejerano. This number must at that time have consisted principally of *mitayos* of every tribe existing between Potosi and Cuzco, a distance of nearly 300 leagues. Those unhappy beings were generally accompanied in their labours by their wives and families, who came rather

tinues to be spoken by about two-thirds of the inhabitants of Peru Proper. Into this language, the New Testament is in process of translation by a native of Cuzco, descended from one of the Incas, who has been engaged to undertake this important service for the British and Foreign Bible Society. Versions of the New Testament in the Aimara and the Arawack dialects, are also in progress. The Aimara and the Moxa are spoken, according to Mr. Thomson, by about 400,000 people.—Thomson, pp. 102, 3.

* The story told respecting their discovery, is, that an Indian who was pursuing some wild goats up the mountains, on coming to a very steep part, laid hold of a small shrub to assist him to climb up; the shrub gave way from its roots, and discovered a mass of fine silver among the clods.—Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 623.

to share in the hopeless sufferings of their husbands and fathers, than to settle in the arid hills of Potosi. It is not, therefore, surprising that its population should have been, by the abolition of the *mita*, and by the shocks which wealthy establishments received during the Revolution, reduced to only 8000, in the year 1825.

" The traveller, on approaching Potosi, from whatever side he may come, emerges from deep mountain ravines, and discovers the town at the foot of the celebrated argentiferous *Cerro*, which is a conical hill about three leagues in circumference at the base. Its summit is more than 2000 feet above the town, and consequently 17,000 feet above the level of the sea. It appears to be of volcanic origin, and its sides are marked with spots of various hues, such as dark green, orange, grey, and red. Above 5000 *boca-minas* (mine mouths or levels) have been opened on the mountain. Of these, only fifty or sixty are now worked. The rest are stopped up, are inundated, or have fallen in. The upper portion of the mountain is so completely honeycombed, that it may be considered as nearly worked out. The lower part, about one-third of the cone, has hardly been touched, in consequence of the number of springs which impede the workings.

" The surrounding country is also metalliferous. Silver of great fineness abounds in a hill called Guayna-Potosi (Young Potosi), close to the *Cerro*, but which cannot be worked, on account of numerous springs being met with at no great distance from the surface. The ore is pulverized in mills, worked with overshot wheels, turned by streamlets conducted from lakes or pools in the mountains, from one to ten miles distance from the city. The most considerable of these

lakes are formed by dams built across the *quebradas* or ravines. The water is sparingly let out by a sluice in the day-time, but never at night, and sometimes not oftener than twice a week, according to the supply. Some of the larger pools are fed by tributary ones, situated in higher recesses of the same mountains. People are constantly employed as lake-keepers, to attend to the sluices, and to repair damages. In very dry seasons, it has happened, that a scarcity of water has caused the mills to stand still. This inconvenience might be obviated, if the *azequias*, or channels, were paved, and the lakes properly cleaned out.

"The town of Potosi is built on uneven ground. It has a spacious square in the centre. The government-house, the town-house, and the jail, under the same roof, occupy one side; the treasury and government offices another; a convent and an unfinished church the third; and private residences the fourth. Extensive suburbs, once tenanted by Indians and miners, are now without an inhabitant, and the vestiges of the streets are all that remain.

"Among the most remarkable public edifices is the mint, substantially built of stone, upon a plan admirably adapted to the purposes for which it was designed. It cost 1,148,000 dollars, including the machinery. It contains spacious apartments for the superintendent and a few of the principal officers.*

* The first mint was built in 1572; the present edifice in 1751. Up to the latter date, the money coined at Potosi consisted of flat, angular pieces of silver or gold, bearing the Spanish arms, and a figure denoting their value. They are often called *Buccaneer* dollars, and are the "pieces of eight" frequently mentioned in the history of those marine freebooters. The annual coinage has, in the most productive years, amounted to five millions of dollars in silver, and to 36,800 doubloons in gold.

" The climate of Potosi is disagreeable. The rays of the sun are scorchingly hot at noon, while in the shade, and at night, the air is piercingly cold. The country for three leagues around is so completely barren, that a blade of vegetation is not to be seen, with the exception of a plant called *quinuali*, which is a remedy against the *puna* (difficulty of respiration).

" The market of Potosi is one of the best supplied in South America, though some articles of great consumption are furnished from very distant provinces. Wine, brandy, and oil are brought from the *Puertos Intermedios*, and flour from Cochabamba. Mules, asses, and llamas are the only means of transport. The necessaries, as well as the luxuries of life are exorbitantly dear. Formerly, many Indian families took up their abode in huts or caves near the mines on the Cerro, and descended to the town only on a Saturday night, to receive their wages, and to purchase a weekly supply of provisions. Many of these often remained to squander their earnings in dissipation, drunkenness, or gambling; and passed great part of the night playing the guitar, and singing at the doors of the tippling shops.

" A singular custom, which probably originated in the indulgence of early mine-owners, still prevails. Between Saturday night and Monday morning, the *Cerro* literally becomes the property of such persons as choose to work upon their own account. During that time, the boldest master would not venture to visit his own mines. They who thus take possession are called *caxchas*, and generally sell the produce of Sunday to their own masters. Independently of the ore thus abstracted, the *caxchas* did considerable mischief by neglecting the proper precautions as they excavated. If they met with a more than usually rich

vein in the course of the week, it was passed over and cunningly reserved for the following Sunday. Very strong measures were therefore taken to abolish the custom; but every effort proved unsuccessful. The *caxchas* defended their privilege by force of arms, and by hurling down large stones upon their assailants. So watchful are they, that it once happened that fifteen or twenty llamas, richly laden with silver ore, were seized on the descent, because they had left the mine after the hour at which the *caxcha* privilege commenced. Neither llamas nor drivers were ever heard of again.

"Although Potosi was the last town in Peru that became independent, it was the first to raise a monument to its liberators; for, previously to Bolivar's arrival in 1825, an obelisk, sixty feet high, was erected in the principal square."*

Chuquisaca, formerly called La Plata (the silver city), or Charcas, the present capital of the Republic of Bolivia, stands in a small plain surrounded with eminences, which defend it from the inclemency of the winds. The climate is mild, but, during the winter, dreadful tempests are not unusual, and the rains are of long continuance. The city is supplied with water from several public fountains by means of aqueducts. The best houses are only one story in height, but roomy, with delightful gardens. There is a large and handsome cathedral, adorned with fine furniture and some beautiful paintings; there are also, besides another parochial church, five monastic establishments, all spacious buildings with splendid churches, a conventual hospital, three nunneries, and a royal university. The city was founded by one of Pizarro's cap-

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 272—281; 267.

tains, in 1539; it was erected into a bishopric in 1551; was made the seat of the royal *audiencia* of Los Charcas in 1559; and created an archiepiscopal see in 1608. The suffragans of the metropolitan are, the bishops of La Paz, Santa Cruz, Tucuman, and Ascencion (in Paraguay). According to Alcedo, it stands in latitude 19° 31′ S., 290 leagues from Cuzco; and the population is stated at 13,000, of whom 4000 were Spaniards, (including many of the most distinguished families in Peru,) 3000 Mestizoes, 4500 Indians, and 1500 negroes and mulattoes. Mr. Miller, however, states the number of its present inhabitants at 18,000 souls.

AREQUIPA.

THE commerce of La Paz, Oruro, Charcas, and Potosi, all formerly belonging to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, found its vent by the port of Arica, in Arequipa. This is now a small, poor, and insignificant place, although several British merchants reside there. It was once a more considerable town, but was much injured by the earthquake of 1605; and in 1680, it was sacked by an English pirate, since which it has never recovered its prosperity. The more respectable inhabitants removed to Tacna, about fourteen leagues distant to the north, attracted by the superior salubrity of its climate.* The district of Arica, the most southerly in Peru, consists chiefly of sandy deserts, with a few cultivated spots near the courses of the rivulets. Captain Basil Hall, who touched at Arica in 1821, describes the surrounding country as a true

* Tacna, says Mr. Miller, "is not unhealthy, it being situated at some distance from the coast, at the foot of mountains; but few persons remain long in the other valleys, without being annoyed by the ague."

desert, covered with sand as far as the eye could reach, "without the slightest trace or hope of vegetation. The ground is varied by high ridges, immense rounded knolls, and long, flat steppes; and far off, we get occasional glimpses of the lower ranges of the Andes; but, high and low, they are all alike,—one bleak, comfortless, miserable, sandy waste. The colour of the ground is sometimes black, generally of a dark brown; and here and there, a streak of white occurs; but nothing more barren, forlorn, or uninhabitable, was ever seen. In the middle of the valley ran a small stream, accompanied in its course through the desert by a strip of rich green, infinitely grateful to the eye, after looking over the surrounding country. The road up the valley was judiciously carried among the trees, near the margin of the stream; and so luxuriant was the vegetation, that we fairly lost sight of the neighbouring hills among the green leaves of the banana and the thick bushy cotton-trees, the pods of which were in full blossom."* Such is the general character of the tract of coast stretching for more than 1600 miles along the shores of the Pacific, from the mouth of the Guayaquil to Coquimbo. The barren high country along the inner margin of this continued desert, is rich in mineral treasures; but, except where a stream occurs, neither trees nor any other vegetation relieve the dreariness of the scenery. There are no harbours along the coast, but only open roads; and a tremendous surf, caused by the prodigious swell which rolls in from the Pacific, dashes up and roars along the base of the lofty cliffs that guard this inhospitable coast.

Arequipa, the capital of this province, is a large and

* Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 192, 3.

well-built city, containing about 30,000 inhabitants. It stands in a plain, watered by the river Chile, about twenty leagues from the coast, in lat. 16° 16′ S., and long. 72° W.* It is about 217 leagues S. E. of Lima; 60 S. W. of Cuzco; and 50 North of Arica. "The valley in which it stands is broad, and contains the large and populous villages of Paucarpata, Sabandia (famous for its baths), Chacarato, Mollevaya, Pocci, Quinqueña (or the Verdant), Yarabamba, Tiovaya, and others. Wheat is produced in great plenty, and strawberries and other fruits of the temperate zone are common. The surrounding desert is limited by the Cordillera. At the distance of six or eight miles east of the city, is a conical mountain, the base of which may be about five leagues in circumference; on the summit is a crater, which throws out smoke, unaccompanied by flame or cinders.† A column of thin vapour was issuing from the volcano during the whole time the patriots occupied Arequipa; this had continued for some time. The mountain, being part of the fore-ground of the Andes, does not appear very lofty to the eye; but some Englishmen who climbed it, spent two days in making an excursion to the summit; a task which has seldom been accomplished, owing to

* The town was founded by Pizarro in a different situation, but repeated earthquakes, and the inconvenience arising from its being so near the volcano of Guayna Patina, forced the inhabitants to remove to the present site. The name of the city signifies in the Quichua, to remain; and the explanation given is, that, in one of the conquests of the Incas, the victorious army were passing through these parts, when many of the captains, struck with the beauty of the country, asked permission to form a settlement there, and received for answer, *Arequipay*, remain.

† The whole country near Mollendo, "the port of Arequipa," is described by Captain Basil Hall, as covered with a snow-white powder, which, he was informed, was thrown out from the great volcano of Arequipa many years ago.

the difficulties of the ascent. The river Chile flows through the city, and is crossed by a handsome stone bridge. The walls of the cathedral, the convents, and churches, and even of the houses, are of stone, and of great thickness, in order to provide against great earthquakes, which are very frequent, and sometimes very destructive."* Four times, Ulloa states, by these dreadful convulsions, the city has been laid in ruins. The first occurred in 1582; the second, accompanied with an eruption of the volcano, in February 1600; the third, in 1604; and the fourth, in 1725.† Besides these, the earthquakes of 1687, 1732, 1738, 1785, and 1819, were scarcely less violent.

Guamanga, the residence of an intendant, the see of a bishop, and the seat of a university, demands a brief notice. It is situated about half way between Lima and Cuzco, (138 miles S. E. of the former, and 176 N. W. of the latter,) in lat. 12° 56′ S., long. 73° 57′ W. It was founded by Pizarro on the site of an Indian village of the same name, for the convenience of the trade between Cuzco and Lima, there being at that time no other town between them. Alcedo asserts, that no town in Peru can compare with it as to its buildings, and he represents its climate as a perpetual spring. It contains a splendid cathedral, two parochial churches, seven monasteries, three nunneries, and a population of about 26,000 souls.‡

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 77, 8. The dwelling-houses, Alcedo states, "are built somewhat like vaults, and have no upper stories, so as to be prepared against the effect of earthquakes. Its temperature, notwithstanding its continual *rains*, is notoriously *dry*, and very benign and salutary."—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. p. 94.

† Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 619.

‡ Ulloa. Alcedo. Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 429. The latter remarks, that its central situation might render Guamanga still more flourishing, were it not for the *insalubrity* of its climate.

TRUXILLO.

THE only other city which lays claim to the honours of an episcopal see, is Truxillo, the diocese of which extends beyond the boundaries of the viceroyalty of Lima, including the province of Jaen de Bracomoros, in the kingdom of Quito. The city of Truxillo is situated in latitude 8° 6′ S., about half a league from the sea, in the valley of Chimu. It is surrounded with a wall of sun-dried bricks, about five feet thick, and ten in height, with a parapet above it, and fifteen bastions. There are five gates leading to as many roads. The circumference of the city is about a league and a half. The streets are broad, and cross at right angles, with a *plaza mayor* in the centre, according to the universal plan of Spanish towns. Few of the houses are more than one floor in height, owing to the frequency of earthquakes: the best are built, like those of Lima, with an interior *patio*, the principal rooms being spacious and lofty, with ceilings of red cedar richly carved. There is an *alameda* or promenade, forming part of the Huanchaco road. Besides the cathedral, there are three parochial churches, and eight or nine conventual churches, there being four monasteries, a college, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, a hospital of Our Lady of Bethlehem (Bethlemites), and two nunneries. "The women, in their dress and customs, follow very nearly those of Lima. Great numbers of chaises are seen here, there not being a family of any credit without one, as the sandy soil is very troublesome in walking."* The population is under 9000 souls. Several British merchants and some North Americans are among the residents.

* Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 561, Alcedo. Maw, p. 20.

Huanchaco, the port of Truxillo, consists merely of a number of huts belonging to Indians employed in the port, with rather better buildings for the commandant, captain of the port, and an English port-agent. About half way to Truxillo, the road passes through the ruins of a large Indian city, called the Grand Chimu, the chiefs of which are said to have long maintained their independence of the Incas. Several of the buildings are still in a considerable degree of preservation; and there are the remains of some large *huacas*, out of which the Spaniards are reported to have taken great quantities of gold. "The Indians of this vale," says Lieutenant Maw, "appear to be a distinct race from those generally met with in Peru. They were exempted by the Spaniards from paying tribute, in consequence of the information they gave relative to the riches buried in the *huchas* (*huacas*); and the present Government have not as yet levied any tax upon them. The Vale of Chimu is three or four leagues in length by about two in breadth: the level also extends eastward along the banks of the small river Mochi. The soil of this vale, being moistened by the waters of the river, possesses a moderate degree of verdure and vegetation, which forms an agreeable change from the dreary waste of rocks, sand, and saltpetre, which, with a few similar exceptions, extends along the coasts of Chile and Peru." *

The *huacas* (or *guacas*) above referred to, have been supposed by many persons to be mere burial-places; but Mr. Stevenson remarks, that, "as some of the tribes of wild Indians bury their dead in the house where they lived, and then abandon it, building for

* Maw, p. 19.

themselves another, this appears to be a sufficient reason for suspecting that such was the practice of the ancient Peruvians." * Near the village of Supe, in the valley of Huaura, there are remains of a large Indian town, built on the side of a rock; galleries being dug out of it, one above another, for the purpose of making room for their small houses. Many remains of these are still visible, and also of small parapets of stone raised before them; so that the hill has the appearance of a fortified place. At a short distance are the ruins of another town on an elevated plain. "I was fully convinced here," continues Mr. Stevenson, "that the Indians buried their dead in the houses where they had resided, as I dug up many of them. They appear to have been buried with whatever belonged to them at the time of their death. I have found women with their pots, pans, and jars of earthenware, some of which are very curious. One kind is composed of two hollow spheres, each about three inches in diameter; they are connected by a small tube placed in the centre, and a hollow arched handle to hold it by, having a hole on the upper side: if water be poured into this hole till the jar is about half full, and the jar be then inclined first to one side and then to the other, a whistling noise is produced.

* To this practice, Southey beautifully alludes in his "Tale of Paraguay."

"Who is there to make ready now the pit,
The house that will content from this day forth
Its easy tenant? Who in vestments fit
Shall swathe the sleeper for his bed of earth,
Now tractable as when a babe at birth?
Who now the ample funeral urn shall knead,
And *burying it beneath his proper earth*,
Deposit there with careful hands the dead,
And lightly then relay the floor above his head?"

Sometimes, a figure of a man stands on each jar, and the water is poured down an opening in his head, and by the same means the noise is occasioned. I saw one of these at the Carmelite nunnery at Quito, having upon it two Indians carrying a corpse on their shoulders, laid on a hollow bier resembling a butcher's tray: when the jar was inclined backwards and forwards, a plaintive cry was heard, resembling that made by the Indians at a funeral. The jars and other utensils were of good clay, and well baked; which, with the ingenious construction just alluded to, proves that the Indians were acquainted with the art of pottery. I have also found in these huacas, long pieces of cotton cloth, similar to that which is made by the Indians at the present time, called tocuyo; many calabashes, quantities of Indian corn or maize, quinua, beans, and the leaves of plantains; feathers of the ostrich from the plains of Buenos Ayres, and different dresses; some spades of palm wood, similar to the *chonta* of Guayaquil, and of which none grow near to Supe; lances and clubs of the same wood; jars filled with chicha, which was quite sweet when discovered, but became sour after being exposed to the air for a short time. I have also found small dolls made of cotton, their dress similar to that worn at present by the females of Cajatambo and Huarochiri; it consists of a white petticoat, *anaco*, a piece of coloured flannel, two corners of which are fastened on the left shoulder by a cactus thorn, the middle being passed under the right arm, girt round the waist with a coloured fillet, and open on the left side down to the bottom; this part of the dress was called the *chaupe anaco*; a piece of flannel, of another colour, of about two feet square, was brought over the shoulders, and fastened on the breast with two large pins of silver or gold, called *topas*;

this part of the dress is called the *yiglla*. The hair is divided into two side tressess, and these are fastened behind, at the extremity, with a coloured fillet. The principal motive for digging the huacas is to search for treasure. I have found rings and small cups of gold; they are beat out very thin, and their size is that of half a hen's egg-shell; it is supposed that they were worn in the ears, for a small shank is attached to them, like the buttons worn by the Indian females at present. Slips of silver, about two inches broad and ten long, as thin as paper, are also frequently dug up. Any small piece of gold which was buried with them, is generally found in their mouths.

"Owing to the nitrous quality of the sand, and to its almost perfect dryness, the bodies are quite entire, and not the least defaced, although many of them have been buried at least three centuries: the clothes are also in the same state of preservation, but both soon decay after being exposed to the sun and air. I dug up one man whose hair grew from his eyebrows, covering his forehead, or rather he had no visible forehead; a great quantity of dried herbs had been buried with him, some small pots, and several dolls. The Indians who saw him, assured me, that he had been a *brujo*, a wizard or diviner; but I was inclined to believe him to have been a physician: however, the two sciences might be considered by them as somewhat similar."*

Near Guambacho, a port to the south of Huanchaco, (in the valley of Santa,) there are remains of an extensive line of fortification, constructed previously to the conquest. "The wall in many parts is still entire, and has salient angles somewhat resembling rude bastions. The wall runs along the side of a lofty

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 412—416.

mountain close to the sea. A great battle was gained here by the (tenth) Inca over Chimu, the last king of the province now called Truxillo. An immense quantity of human bones is scattered over the ground. Some of the skulls retain all the hair." *

Of the province of Truxillo, the volumes of Mr. Stevenson, together with the recent enterprising journey of Lieutenant Maw, have furnished us with some further topographical account. The latter officer, when about to return from Lima to England, in November 1827, was given to understand, that a route across Peru and down the river Maranon or Amazons, though little known, was practicable, and that information respecting the Interior would be very acceptable to the British merchants on the coast. Ambitious to obtain, or at least to merit distinction, he resolved to make the attempt; and having fortunately obtained at Truxillo a companion in the enterprise,—an English merchant, of the name of Hinde, —they started on the 10th of December.

FROM TRUXILLO TO TABATINGA.

AFTER leaving Truxillo, the route lies up the valley of Chicama, northward and eastward, passing over

* Miller, vol. i. p. 220. The original town of Guambacho was destroyed by a Dutch pirate in 1685. Speaking of the *guacas*, Mr. Miller states, that phosphoric exhalations are seen sometimes issuing from them, "as large as the flame of a bonfire. This is considered by the country people as an indication that gold is to be found; and they fall to work to ransack the tumulus, which had probably been pillaged twenty times before." "In the year 1576, a Spaniard opened a *huaca*, supposed to have been that of one of the Chimus, in which he found so large a quantity of gold, that he paid into the royal treasury of Truxillo, 9362 oz. of gold as the royal fifth, the value of the whole being upwards of 150,000*l.* sterling."—Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 121.

several ridges, the roots of the Cordillera, till it at length ascends to the elevated table-land of Caxamarca. The valleys of Chimu, Chicama, and Viru, may be considered as one, being separated from each other only by the branches of the Chicama river. Their united extent is above twenty-eight leagues in length by eleven in breadth. The soil, irrigated by the waters of the river, is very fertile, and the valley of Chicama was formerly called the granary of Peru; but the earthquake of 1687 is believed to have affected its productive powers. Prior to that convulsion, the wheat is said to have produced two hundred fold. Here are many sugar-plantations, but, for want of hands, Mr. Stevenson says, they are not so well cultivated, and consequently not so productive, as those in the valleys in the neighbourhood of Lima and Pisco. Little doubt, however, he adds, can be entertained, that this beautiful and fruitful valley will, at some future period, become one of the most interesting settlements on the coast of Peru, on account of its extent, the quality of its soil, and the abundance of water.*

The *pueblo* (village) of Chicama is six leagues from Truxillo: it is inhabited chiefly by the tenants and slaves of the ex-marquis of Bracamonte, one of the greatest landed proprietors in this part. The next stage is to the *pueblo* of Cascas, from which the fruit-market of Truxillo is partly supplied. At Contumasa, which our Travellers reached on the third day, the temperature, soil, and vegetation assumed a new character. The ground was covered with grass and

* Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 124. "During the rains in the interior, part of the waters of this river," Lieutenant Maw says, "are discharged into the sea; but, at other times, they are all used for irrigation."

fern; numerous blackberry-bushes were passed, resembling those in England; partridges were seen, and, at a distance, several condors, the magnificent vulture of the Andes. The houses have sloping roofs thatched or tiled, indicating that this place is within reach of the rains. The inhabitants are remarkable for the fairness of their complexions, and the women for their beauty. The surrounding district consists chiefly of small plains between and on the summits of some of the lower ridges of the Andes: the cultivation is chiefly barley and wheat. The road now descends, for three hours, by a zig-zag path, into the deep and narrow valley of the Magdalena, a river which reaches the Pacific. Here, the sugar-cane, plantains, and other tropical fruits flourish, the climate being very hot and insalubrious. The ascent from this valley to the *jalca** or summit of the Cordillera, is very steep. The ridge is the continuation of the Cerro of Gualgayoc, famous for its silver-mines, about fourteen leagues to the N.W. The table-land is covered with rank grass (*pajon*). After travelling for some leagues across the top, the valley and city of Caxamarca are seen from an eminence. The tiled and white-washed houses, with the spires and domes of several large churches, and the hedges and rows of trees by which the *pampa* is divided near the city, give to the view the effect of European scenery.

CAXAMARCA.

THE name of the city is derived from the Peruvian, *Cassac-malca*, *i.e.*, place of frost. The climate, how-

* The declivity of a mountain is called *cuesta*; the highest point, *cumbre*; *jalca* seems to be applied to the top of a ridge.

ever, is not severe.* The valley is about five leagues long and three broad, forming an irregular oval. Many white country-houses present themselves, and numberless *ranchos* of the Indians. "The whole plain," Mr. Stevenson says, "is intersected with green hedges, which divide it into several hundreds of small plots of ground, all apparently in the highest state of cultivation,—at least, all bearing most luxuriant crops. The river winds along the valley from one extremity to the other, bursting as it were from the embraces of the hills at one end: after gambolling along the valley, distributing health and vigour to the vegetable tribes, it again sinks into the arms of the mountains at the other." The crops are subject, however, to be much injured by frosts. Lieutenant Maw states, that they are calculated not to escape oftener than once in five years, and that the *pampa* consequently does not more than supply the city.

Caxamarca stands, according to this Traveller's observations, in latitude 7° 3′ 26″ S.† "It is noted for having once possessed a palace of the Incas, for its hot springs, and for its smiths, who are considered as better workmen than those of any other place in Peru. The only remains of the palace are a few stones, that now form part of the wall of an inferior dwelling-house. They are smooth and fit closely together, but not square. They are supposed to have been hewn with instruments made of a mixture of tin and copper, as some such instruments have been found.‡ It is reported to have been from his baths at

* During Mr. Stevenson's stay at this place, the *maximum* of the thermometer was 72°; the *minimum* 40°; but the frosty winds from the East are very injurious to vegetation.

† According to double altitudes worked by Inman's Tables. In Alcedo, the latitude is given, 6° 54′.

‡ "Of this palace," Alcedo says, "which was for the most part

the hot springs, about a league to the eastward of the city, that the Inca Atahualpa was carried on a throne of solid gold to meet the Spaniards. It is also reported, that, when the Spaniards were making themselves masters of the country, the Peruvians, finding they were unable to oppose them, threw the golden throne into the crater of the boiling springs, to prevent its falling into the hands of the conquerors. Some years since, two rich Spaniards cut a canal to drain the crater, and get out the throne, with other treasures that were supposed to have been hove in. They did not consider that it was deeper than a canal could be cut, and the attempt failed. The churches of Caxamarca were celebrated for the quantity of gold and silver ornaments they possessed previously to the Revolution. They are further remarkable for being of stone richly cut; and still more as the four principal ones remain unfinished."* The population, amounting to about 7000, is chiefly composed of Indians and Mestizoes. Among the Creoles, the family of Bonifas claims a lineal descent from that of the illustrious Cardinal Ximenes, and are reported to be in possession of many interesting papers which belonged to that distinguished prelate and statesman. Among the Indian families, that of the cacique Astopilco is said to be descended from the unfortunate Atahualpa, and they inhabit part of the site of the palace of the Inca. "The generality of the inhabitants," con-

built of mud, but which was very large, and was afterwards converted into the prison, the chapel, and the house of the corregidor, nothing has been left, save a piece of wall about twelve yards long and eight wide. There is still to be seen, a stone, a yard and a half long, and two thirds wide, which serves as the foundation to the altar of the chapel where he met his fate."—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. p. 344.

* Maw, pp. 38, 39.

tinues Mr. Stevenson, " are industrious, and their workmanship in silver and iron is deserving of much praise. I have seen many very handsome sword-blades and daggers made here, pocket-steels and bridle-bits most curiously wrought, besides several well-finished pistol and gun-locks: on this account, the Caxamarquinos are often called the Biscayans of South America. The natives are fond of instruction; and many of the richer inhabitants send their children to Truxillo and Lima to be educated. Kindness and hospitality characterize the citizens of Caxamarca; and some of the most agreeable hours of my life have been spent in this town.....The city carries on a considerable trade with Lambayeque and other places on the coast, furnishing them with the different home manufactures, such as baizes, coarse cloth, blankets, and flannels, and receiving in return, European manufactures, soap, sugar, cocoa, brandy, wine, indigo, *hierba de Paraguay*, salted fish, iron, steel, &c. The inhabitants of the Interior resort to Caxamarca as to a mart for their own produce and manufactures.

" At the distance of a league from Caxamarca, are the baths of the Incas. Two comfortable dwelling-houses are built of stone on the two sides of a large patio, each having an extensive bath. That on the right hand is five yards square, and two deep. The sides and bottom are formed of roughly hewn stone, having steps at two of the corners, leading down from two doors, which open to different parts of the house; and others in the centre of the opposite side, communicating by a door with a large room. On the left is another bath, smaller than this; it is called *de los pobres*, and it has convenient rooms also attached to it. At the entrance to the patio is a corridor to the right and left, which serves as a stable; and in

the front there are two kitchens, and a passage that leads through the building. It was at these baths that the unfortunate Atahualpa resided when Pizarro arrived at Caxamarca.

"The spring of hot water, called *el tragadero*, is at the back of the building, and is at the distance of two hundred and thirty yards from it; it is circular, of five yards in diameter. I sounded it with fifty yards of rope, but found no bottom. The land all round it to the distance of more than a mile, is almost level, declining a very little towards the river, which runs at the distance of four hundred yards from the Tragadero. The water appears to boil; but, having only one thermometer with me, and being fearful of damaging it where its place could not easily be supplied with another, I did not measure its heat. The natives scald their pigs here when they kill them, and as I have observed that boiling water rather fastens the bristles on the skin, I concluded that the heat of the water is below the temperature at which it generally boils when heated in the ordinary way. I filled two tin coffee-pots, the one with water from the Tragadero, the other with water from a cold spring; I placed them together on the same fire, and observed that the cold and the hot water began to boil precisely at the same time. I placed an egg in the Tragadero, secured in a small net, and allowed it to remain eight minutes; it was then quite hard, and the yolk dry. I allowed another to remain three minutes, which when broken was soft. I placed another in the hot water, allowed it to remain three minutes, and put it immediately into boiling water on a fire with a cold raw egg; after boiling five minutes, they were both equally hard, and when cut, no difference could be observed, except in the taste: the

one which had been placed in the Tragadero had a slight clayey taste, somewhat similar to that of water which has passed over a bed of clay.

"The water of the Tragadero empties itself into a channel three feet wide, and on an average six inches deep, which, from several experiments, I observed to run at the rate of three feet in a second. By this experiment it appears, that about thirty hogsheads of water are discharged in a minute. Along the sides of the channel, the grass and other vegetables, particularly the ichu, grow to the very margin of the stream; and the fields of lucern which are irrigated with this water, at the distance of five hundred yards from the Tragadero, are the finest in the valley. The fruit-trees also that grow in the gardens belonging to the baths, apples, pears, and peaches, are never subject to the blight from the frosty air so common in the neighbourhood; being apparently protected by the steam which continually rises from the hot water. The principal stream contains many small fishes of a black colour, very much in shape like small shrimps: if these be put into cold water, they immediately die. They appear to be continually swimming up the stream, as if to avoid being carried by it to the confluence of the cold stream from the Santa Rosa springs with that of the Tragadero, where they would most certainly perish.

"The water which flows from the spring called de Santa Rosa, which is only seventy-two yards from the Tragadero, is always at 41° of Fahrenheit at the mouth of the spring, where it bursts from a rock. The baths are supplied with water of any temperature, by mixing the hot from the Tragadero with the cold from Santa Rosa; and as there is an outlet

at the bottom as well as at the top of each bath, a constant supply of fresh water is maintained." *

"Near to the baths, at a farm-house, are many ruins of what appears to have been a granary or store belonging to the Inca; here are many excavations, in some of which there are marks on the stones of one thousand, two thousand, &c. This has induced some people to search for treasure, but none has ever yet been found. At the distance of two leagues from Caxamarca, is a stone called *Inga Rirpo*, resting-stone of the Inca; it is similar to the one described by M. Humboldt, which he saw at the *Paramo de Asuay*, which is called *Inga Chungana*, Inca's resting-place. The Inga Rirpo, near to Caxamarca, is a large block of freestone, eleven feet long, two feet eight inches high above the ground, and thirteen inches thick; it has two grooves cut across it near to the centre, four inches deep, and five inches wide. Here are also the remains of a circular inclosure surrounding it, eight yards in diameter; it stands on the *Camino del Inca*, the military road on which the Incas travelled from Cuzco to Quito. The sight of this resting-stone commands a most beautiful prospect of the valley of Caxamarca. The tradition of the Indians is, that the Inca used to be brought here to enjoy the prospect, and that the two grooves in the stone were made, that the cross ledges of the throne on which he was carried, might rest secure in them.

"At the farm called *La Lagunilla*, near the Indian village *De Jesus*, five leagues from Caxamarca, are the remains of an Indian town most curiously built. Many of the houses are yet entire; they are all built of stone, and surround a small rock or mountain,

* Stevenson, vol. ii. pp. 131, 2; 137–141.

which is situated in a valley. The bottom tier or range of rooms have walls of an amazing thickness, in which I have measured stones twelve feet long and seven feet high, forming the whole side of a room, with one or more large stones laid across, which serve as a roof. Above these houses, another tier was built in the same manner, on the back of which are the entrances or doorways, and a second row had their backs to the mountain. The roofs of the second tier in front had been covered with stone, and probably formed a promenade; a second tier of rooms thus rested on the roofs of the first tier, which were on a level with the second front tier. In this manner, one double tier of dwelling-rooms was built above another to the height of seven tiers. On the top are many ruins, apparently of a palace or fortress.

"When I first visited this place, I imagined that the rooms were excavations in the rock; but I was very soon convinced that the whole had been built, and I was astonished at contemplating such immense labour, the real purpose of which is now unknown. The rooms are seldom more than about twelve feet square and seven feet high, with a high door-way in front, narrower at the top than at the bottom: the stone has been wrought for the fronts into irregular sized squares, which are cemented together. Some of the thick walls are formed of two casings of stone, and the interstice is filled up with small stones and pebbles, held together with well tempered reddish clay, which at present forms so solid a mass, that it is almost equal to stone. The cement used to hold the stones together was, doubtless, tempered clay; but so little was used, that some have imagined that the stones were merely placed one upon another; in this surmise, however, they were evidently mistaken.

" The whole of this building would have contained at least five thousand families; but we are not certain that it was ever applied to that purpose. Some traditions call it one of the palaces or houses of reception for the Incas when they travelled; but this is by no means probable, for it does not stand within a league of the great road of the Incas, and being only five leagues from Caxamarca, it is not likely that such an edifice would have been built for such a purpose. Others state, that it was the general granary for this part of the country in the time of the Incas; but this is also subject to the same objections; for, as I have already mentioned, the remains of one exist on the farm belonging to Doña Mercedes Arce, near to Caxamarca; and the ruins of all those granaries which I have seen at different places, are a kind of cisterns, walled round either with adobes or rough hewn stones. It appears to me as far more probable, that this was the residence of the Chimu of Chicama, when he resided in the interior of his territory, before it became subject to the Inca Pachacutec. The top of the mountain appears to have been covered with buildings of a superior kind to the rest, for some of the foundations may be traced, inclosing rooms and courts more extensive than are to be found in any other part of this mass of buildings. There are four principal roads leading from the bottom to the top, corresponding to the four cardinal points; and from each of these roads or streets, the inhabitants could walk on the tops of their houses to the next, and probably round the whole by bridges laid across the intersecting roads; so that seven promenades were thus formed, besides the six circular streets. The proprietor of this estate, Don Tomas Bueno, fancied that it was the remains of an ancient temple,

and supposed that a great treasure was somewhere hidden; but I never could persuade him to cut an adit through it in search of the huaca. Here are no remains of delicate sculpture, although a few arabesques may be seen on some of the stones; nor is there any appearance of elegant architecture, for which the ancient Greeks and Romans were so famous. However, the immense ingenuity of the builders in conveying and placing such huge masses of stone in such a situation, as well as the extracting them from the quarries without machinery, and shaping them without iron tools, must astound the contemplative beholder of these ruins, and make him blush at hearing the builders called barbarians. Such epithets are equally applicable to the Egyptians, on viewing their rude ancient monuments; but we feel conscious that those people were in possession of the arts and sciences, when our forefathers in Europe were in a state of barbarity; we consider, too, that from their plantations, the first scions were brought to Greece and Italy, and that these exotics were afterwards transplanted into our own country.

"Near to these ruins is a small lake, *laguna*, from which the estate derives its name; it is of an oval figure, the transverse axis being nine hundred yards, and the conjugate six hundred and fifty. One side of the lake rests on the foot of the mountains which separate the farm from the valley of Caxamarca, on the opposite side of which mountains the river runs. An excavation or tunnel is cut through one of these mountains, through which the water of the lake is discharged into the river, when it rises nearly to a level with the surrounding land, and thus a flooding of it is prevented. This lake was probably the quarry whence the stone was taken for the build-

ing just described, and the passage was probably opened at the same time by the Indians, to prevent the water from deluging the low lands, which bespeaks that attention to economy so evident in the establishments of the ancient Peruvians. The farm-house here, with all the stables and other buildings, are of stone, brought from the *Tambo del Inca*, as the ruins are called; all the yards are paved with the same, and they have a very neat and clean appearance; however, I could not help wishing that the stones had remained undisturbed in their former interesting situation; but many have also been carried, for the same purposes, to different places." *

On leaving Caxamarca, Lieut. Maw and his companion, after crossing the plain in the direction of the hot springs, passed over a rugged ridge to a second, higher, and less fertile *pampa*, named Polloc (Pallaques). The next day, they ascended the second cordillera. Near the summit, they began to fall in with numerous springs on all sides of the mountain. A small circle of trees and brushwood marks the position of each spring; and their waters uniting, form mountain streams that rush along the valleys, ultimately flowing into the westernmost branch of the Amazons. Several hollows were noticed, which have the appearance of craters, and, below these, extensive marks of old Peruvian cultivation. From the top of a third rugged ridge, the first sight was obtained of the Marañon. Nothing on earth or water, says Lieut. Maw, could exceed the grandeur of the scenery. "The rain was clearing off, while a perfect and brilliant rainbow extended across the river, here about sixty yards in breadth, and rushing between mountains the summits of which were hidden in the clouds

* Stevenson, vol. ii. pp. 164, 5; 170—4.

on which the extremes of the bow rested." It is a steep descent to the *balsa* or ferry. The river is not navigable in this part. A little above the ferry, it descends over a sloping bed of large gravel; and at a short distance below, it is fordable on horseback. Further down, there are reported to be cataracts. The valley, in some parts, barely affords sufficient breadth for the river; but near the ferry, there are small banks, where pine-apples, *paltas*, *chirimoyas*, and plantains are raised in perfection for the Caxamarca market.

After crossing the river, the Travellers had to ascend a third very rugged pass, leading over the highest ridge of the Andes that is crossed in this route. "During the forenoon, the track led along the summits of high ridges, that were in some parts not more than three or four feet broad at the top, gradually widening towards their base, but still so steep and narrow, that they resembled immense walls rather than mountains; whilst, from their height, and the haziness of the weather, we could not see the valleys at the bottom.

"After getting beyond these, we came to a steep, narrow path, cut principally amongst the rocks of a rugged ridge. There was barely room for the mules to tread at the bottom; it widened where our feet should have come, but so sparingly, that the defence of wooden stirrups was not sufficient, and we placed our legs over the mules' necks to avoid being jammed. The rock on each side was much above our heads, and the pass nearly a mile in length. After getting out of it, we came to a small level covered with grass, amongst which were mushrooms. We stopped for a few minutes to rest the mules, and, again ascending, passed up and along the side of a ridge; then ascended and

descended amongst trees and various other plants, some of which were common to England. We observed the alder, lupin, blackberry, honeysuckle, yellow broom, fern, heather, and an abundance of what the country-people in England call buttercups. Plants common to tropical climates did not appear numerous. A few cattle in fine condition were feeding amongst the trees ; and we passed some tambos, but saw no permanent human habitations.

" We were still in the clouds, and had occasionally light rain. Towards noon, we got beyond the clouds, and saw the jalca of the third Cordillera above us. It now appeared that the jalca was surrounded with a belt of woods, on which the clouds hung. The soil of the jalca is black or bog earth, covered with grass and an abundance of bushes, loaded with berries. A solitary horse was all we saw, feeding. Innumerable springs, with their streamlets, poured down the sides of the jalca, the waters of which were clear as crystal."*

The descent was by a staircase path, down which the mules jumped, rather than walked ; at the foot of which was a rich valley clothed with fine grass, fern, and buttercups, and watered by a small, but not rapid stream ; having much the aspect of English scenery, except that there were no signs of cultivation. The soil now began to contain whitish limestone ; and after ascending from the valley to the *pueblo* of Leimabamba, this was found to form the principal part of the rock. The district is considered rich, and is better cultivated than most parts of Peru. The principal productions are wheat, maize, and potatoes. The appearance of the inhabitants was unhealthy. The route now followed, for several leagues,

* Maw, pp. 48, 9.

a river formed by the junction of some mountain streams, and named, from its stone bridge, the Rumichaca. Afterwards, turning more to the N. E., it ascended a wooded ridge leading to "the city of Chachapoyas." The remains of two round stone buildings were passed, "somewhat resembling Martello towers, reported to have been old Indian houses;" and the Travellers were told, that there is a village on a hill above the *pueblo* of Sootah, the houses of which are built in a similar manner.

Chachapoyas is a name common to the province, the river, and the town, which is the residence of an Intendant. It stands in latitude 6° 7′ 41″ S., and is built on the usual plan of the Spanish towns, with a *plaza* in the centre, having at one corner a handsome church. The streets are paved, but the houses are only one story high. The Intendant shewed Lieutenant Maw the last census and tax-papers of the province, according to which, the population amounted to 5093 males, and 5083 females. He stated, that it had at one time amounted to 20,000 souls,* and ascribed the decrease to the stagnation occasioned by the abolition of the royal monopoly of tobacco, and to the demands made for recruits: affirming, that 1800 men had gone from the province as soldiers since the commencement of the Revolution. Yet, the difference between the males and females in the census, was only ten. The chief produce of the district consisted formerly of tobacco. The cultivation of the vine has recently been introduced. Casks had not yet been obtained, but "they had made arrangements for being supplied with them." It was also intended to cultivate indigo,

* In Alcedo's Dictionary, however, the inhabitants of the province of Chachapoyas are rated at only 10,000.

which grows wild. Wheat, maize, barley, cocoa, sugar, potatoes, cochineal, Peruvian bark, cotton, castor oil, storax, dragons blood, Brazil wood, with "all kinds of vegetables," and "all kinds of cattle," are enumerated among the diversified productions of the province, which comprises almost every variety of climate.

On the 24th of December, our Travellers left Chachapoyas for Moyobamba. The road led over several very rugged ridges bearing north-easterly, and through ravines in which the scenery was romantically beautiful. "Wherever sufficient earth allowed trees to grow, they arched over the path, while the brilliant sparkling of numerous fire-flies, and the clear, pale light of the moon, gave additional effect to the rugged mountain landscape, and the torrent that foamed down the ravine." They reached, late in the evening, the *pueblo* of Toulea. On the morning of Christmas day, the thoughts of our Travellers naturally reverted to England, and to the different aspect of the season in this country, as they looked out upon a field of potatoes in flower, pastures covered with sheep and cattle,* and the woods that clothe the lower parts of the mountains, in full leaf, exhibiting a beautiful variety of tints in their foliage. The thermometer stood at 60° in the shade.

Toulea is the last inhabited station before entering the recesses of the *Montaña*, the name given to the region of woods extending eastward to the banks of

* The watch-dogs that attend the flocks, when young, are taught to suck a ewe of the flock of which they are destined to be the guardians; and when grown up, they continue with the sheep, going out with them in the morning, and driving them home to the fold at night, without the necessity of any herdsman.—Maw, p. 72. Stevenson, vol. i. p. 115.

the Amazons. On leaving the *pueblo*, the route lay for several leagues through a wooded tract, the soil of which is a white sand; then over a hill, where the road on both sides is formed by the trunks of small trees placed athwart and close together; and afterwards across one of the bleakest ridges of the Andes. On the 27th, after passing over some more bleak hills, entered the woods; and the day's journey must be described in our Traveller's own words.

"The wild luxuriance of the trees and flowers in the Montaña, was excessive; scarcely a niche in the abrupt rocks that occasionally shewed themselves, was left unoccupied. Streams became more numerous, and we heard the notes of what we understood to be the organ-bird....The *arrieros* gave us notice to prepare for worse road. This at the time appeared to us scarcely possible; but we had not gone much further, when we were convinced the *arrieros* were correct in their account. Sitting upright, even on the saddles of the country, was out of the question. Ascending, we were obliged to lay ourselves along the mules' backs, and hold on; descending, it was equally steep; and what made it worse, the top of an ascent was scarcely gained, when the next step was jumping down again; consequently, an instantaneous change of position was necessary. In getting up some of these places, while lying stretched along the mules' backs, we appeared to be nearly upright. Nor was steepness the only obstacle. Some of these staircases were cut through cliffs, but so narrow, that, in descending, we repeatedly got jammed; and the sides were so high, that a person when a few yards in advance, appeared to be going to the interior, rather than continuing along the surface of the earth. In other parts, branches of trees, particularly stout *sogas*

(creepers), caught our heads and necks; and it was necessary to keep a good look out, to avoid being hanged by these growing ropes. Going down one of the steepest descents, a *soga* stretching across the path, caught me directly in the mouth, which it forced open: fortunately, it was not a strong one, and my biting it hard, and the strength and weight of the mule, broke it. Between the ridges were bogs, in which the mules sank up to their bellies. Bridges over the mountain streams were made of one large tree, flanked by two smaller ones. If our mules had not understood their business, and been as active and sure-footed as goats, we certainly could not have ridden....At length, the trees of the forest became larger, and the underwood less thick, and we began to meet with more tropical plants, among which were several varieties of palms and ferns; some of the ferns nearly equalling the palms in circumference, but not in height. Towards sunset, we reached an open space about 100 yards long by 30 in breadth; and there being sufficient pasture for the mules, and a stream running past, we stopped and pitched our tent near a large tree."

Here, our Travellers were first greeted by mosquitoes. The next day, the road continued much the same, with the additional inconvenience, that, in some parts, the depth and continuance of the bogs rendered it necessary to "push into the wood to get round them." At length, they reached a place called the *ventana* (window), where the rock is "pretty nearly perpendicular, with only a few niches cut for the mules to step into." "We all dismounted, and scrambled down in the best manner we could. How the mules got down, I am at this moment at a loss to conceive. The only one that I saw, (for I got out of

the way as quickly as possible,) was my own. I had given her to one of the *arrieros* to hold until I was clear below, but he let her go rather too soon, and she tumbled past, still keeping her feet like a cat. I do not hesitate to say of this passage across the Montaña, that, had I not been a witness to the contrary, I could scarcely have believed it possible for any animal to have carried a human being over it alive. The road appeared to me to be badly made, worse kept, and absurdly chosen."

On reaching Moyobamba*, situated on an elevation in the plain watered by the Moyo, our Travellers found that they were not the first Europeans who had visited the place. A Mons. Du Bayle had arrived a few weeks before from the Brazilian territory; and a British sailor, called Miguel Ramos, (in plain English, Michael Ramsay,) had by some means found his way there from the coast, and, after surprising the natives by his eccentric conduct, had gone off, leaving his wife behind him. The population of this place is estimated at about 5000 persons. The Moyobambians are remarkable for the lightness of their complexion. They are also noted for their manufacture of a coarse cotton cloth called *tucaya*, which, from the scarcity of coin, serves, in the Lower Provinces, as the circulating medium. It is made principally by the women and children. Plantains are here the substitute for bread.

* According to Alcedo, Moyobamba, or Santiago de los Valles, which is in the province of Chachapoyas, is situated in lat. 7° S., and long. 75° 51′ W.; 192 miles E. by N. of Truxillo, and 310 miles N.N.E. of Lima. The climate is hot and unhealthy. Its tobacco was reckoned formerly the best grown in Peru. According to Lieut. Maw's observations, the latitude is 5° 30′ 30″; a difference of nearly a degree and a half; he expresses doubt as to the correctness of his calculation, but believes his latitude to be nearer the truth than that of the Missionaries.

On the 7th of January, having obtained from the intendant and vicar all the information they could furnish, our Travellers proceeded on foot, the road not being passable even for mules, to a place called Balsa Puerto, five days distant, where they were to embark in canoes. In one part, they had to ford a stream thirty or forty yards in breadth, just above where it forms a cascade, by rushing down a rock at an angle of about 45°. The current is so strong and rapid, that there is the greatest danger of falling and being dashed down the precipice. An Indian girl, in passing, had nearly fallen, but recovered herself; and Mr. Hinde, on coming to the same place, actually fell, but had the presence of mind to throw himself up the stream, and was saved by one of the Indians. One of the party had seen a deer killed in attempting to pass. The place is called *Puma Yaco* (Tiger Water). A little further, they came to a point from which they had a view, between some of the last ridges of the Andes, of the vast plain that lies beyond them. Its boundary was the horizon, and, though covered with wood, it looked like the sea. Almost immediately afterwards, they reached the brink of a descent, called by the natives, the Staircase (*Escalera*), or rather Ladder; and a terrible ladder it must be to descend. It is, in some parts, nearly perpendicular, having foot-holes cut in the side; and is of such height, that it takes an Indian carrier from five in the morning until noon to get up it.

"Accustomed as we had now become," says Lieut. Maw, "not only to the Andes, but to the Montaña, this place surprised us. After descending for two hours, we came to a ladder made of two tall palm-trees, with twenty-six cross-pieces as steps. Accustomed as I have been to going aloft, this staircase

descent made the joints of my knees crack, every bone in my skin ache, and the perspiration run from every pore. Immediately on reaching the bottom, was a broad stream, called *Escalera Yaco* (Staircase Water), which, descending rapidly among rocks, was so much swollen, that we were obliged to wait until it had a little subsided; when we waded it nine or ten times, in some parts up to our waists, and the *Cachi Yaco*, a broad, but, in this part, shallow river, once."

On the 15th of January, our Travellers embarked in two canoes, about twenty feet long and two and a half broad, fitted up with an awning thatched with palm-leaves. The Cachi Yaco, which they had forded three times before reaching Balsa Puerto, and which they now descended to its junction with the Guallaga, is a shallow and very winding stream, the current (in the rainy season) flowing at the rate of four miles an hour. The distance to the junction, following the windings, is about a hundred miles. The Guallaga is a much more considerable river. Its average depth, before it is joined by another river from the westward, is about four fathoms: below that junction, it deepens to five and six fathoms, and when clear of islands, it is from a third of a mile to half a mile in breadth. The trees on the banks are not generally large; but the words afford cover for numerous wild boars, tigers, tapirs, and other wild animals. The *pueblos* on this river are built at the head of little creeks, where the ground is higher than the banks of the main stream, and clearer of damp and insects. At the *pueblo* of Laguna, our Travellers had to hire fresh and larger canoes to prosecute their voyage.

Laguna * is the chief establishment of the Missions

* San Antonio de la Laguna is, according to the Missionaries, in latitude 5° 13'.

in the province of Maynas. The situation is peculiarly unhealthy, surrounded with steaming swamps, which breed mosquitoes of extraordinary size. The Indians here live chiefly on fish, plantains, and *yucas;* they also drink large quantities of *chicha*, of which they make four kinds, from maize, yucas, plantains, and a large, red, fleshy palm-nut called *chuntas*. The yuca makes the best. The traffic of Laguna consists in sending bees' wax, salt fish, and *tartaruga* to Moyobamba, for which *tucuya* (coarse calico) is received in return; and sarsaparilla and oil of the *vaca marina* to Tabitinga, whence they obtain knives, fish-hooks, hatchets, hoes, and beads, with a few English cottons and crockery-ware for their own use. The governor was dressed in a large checked blue cotton shirt and trowsers of English nankeen, for which he had paid four reals a yard at Tabitinga. Laguna, though the population has greatly declined, has still belonging to it, several hundred inhabitants, who collect at the festivals, when it is known that a *padre* is coming. At other times, the *puèblo* is almost deserted: only the Governor and a few families remain, and the streets and *plaça* are overgrown with grass.

On the 21st of January, our Travellers left Laguna about noon, and at sunset reached the mouth of the Guallaga.* It did not produce that impression which

* It was by the Guallaga, that Pedro de Orsua reached the Amazons. M. Condamine, who, in 1743, descended the Amazons, entered the river much higher up, by the Chuchunga stream, which falls into the Amazons where it first begins to be navigable. It is, however, much incumbered with cataracts and narrows as far as Borja, the capital of Maynas, (in latitude 4° 28′ S., longitude 76° 24′ W.) where that Traveller found himself "on a fresh-water sea, surrounded with a maze of lakes, rivers, and canals, penetrating in all directions the gloom of an immense forest, inaccessible except by means of those channels. Nothing was to be

the lavish descriptions of the Missionaries had taught them to expect. The Amazons may, at this junction, Lieutenant Maw says, be about a mile across. They now entered this mighty river, and on the night of the 25th, passed the mouth of the Ucayale. It was too dark to admit of their making any observations; but it was evident that a sudden and material effect had been produced upon the river. The current became more rapid; the depth of water increased; and the trees and pieces of wood floating down the stream were so numerous, that it was difficult to keep clear of them. At their confluence, M. Condamine tells us, the Ucayale is the broader stream of the two; and its sources are more distant and more copious than those of the western branch of the Marañon. On meeting the latter, moreover, the Ucayale "repulses its tide, and changes its course;" and he inclines to the opinion, that it has therefore the best claim to be considered as the main branch. Lieutenant Maw thinks it probable, that the western branch will be found the more considerable at the greater distance, although some of the head streams which form the Ucayale, may exceed it in extreme length. Moreover, he adds, the Ucayale appears to be formed rather by a collection of streams, while the Marañon flows throughout from between the Cordillera as a main channel. This representation is not altogether accurate, since the Ucayale, after receiving the Apurimac or Tambo,

seen but a wide circle of verdure and water." "Below Borja, and for four or five hundred leagues beyond, on falling down the river, a stone, nay, a pebble, is an object as rare as a diamond. The savages of these countries have no conception of stones." The river Pastaca, which discharges itself below Borja by three mouths, is described as nearly equalling, at the mouth of the principal branch, the breadth of the Marañon itself.—Pinkerton's Voy. vol. xiv. pp. 211—23.

in latitude 10° 31′, becomes a very considerable stream. Still, the depth of the Marañon is so much greater as to entitle it to be regarded as the main reservoir. At a distance from the sea of more than 2600 miles, its depth was found to be upwards of 175 feet, and its breadth, though inferior to that of several of its tributaries, nearly 900 feet. Besides, although the sources of the Ucayale are the most remote, this circumstance can with little propriety be allowed to determine the question so vehemently disputed respecting the true head of this mighty river. More stress ought to be laid, we think, upon the general configuration of the country, than upon the accidental length of particular head streams; and it is obvious, that the distinguishing feature in the geography of this part of South America, is the basin of the Marañon, extending from west to east nearly across the whole continent, in the same general direction, though gradually approaching the Line, and receiving on either bank into its vast channel, the waters which flow from all directions towards this central reservoir.

Below the mouth of the Ucayale, Lieut. Maw found the river "assume a very superior character:" its breadth increases, and it appeared to be navigable in the main channel by vessels of almost any class. At the *pueblo* of Pebas, he had an opportunity of seeing a number of Indians belonging to different tribes residing several days' journey in the woods. One of these tribes, called the Yaguas, struck him as bearing strong marks of being descended from the ancient Peruvians. "Not only do they differ from the other Indians, almost as much as they do from Europeans, but, what is extraordinary, they wear the hair cut straight across the forehead and cropped behind, in the manner that

is described as one of the distinguishing marks of the Incas, and which we never saw amongst any other of the Indians. They are tall and good figures; their complexion is a tawny yellow, scarcely darker than the Moyobambian's. Their hair is lighter than that of the common Indians, and the expression of their countenances far from stupid. They wear sashes made of thin white bark, which fall both before and behind; and have their heads and arms ornamented with the long feathers of the scarlet macaw or papagayo. Indeed, I think it is scarcely possible to give a better description of the Yaguas we saw at Pebas, than by referring to the prints usually published of the Peruvians at the time of the Spanish conquest."

These Yaguas are probably a tribe of the Omagua nation, who formerly inhabited the islands and banks of the Marañon throughout an extent of 200 leagues below the mouth of the Napo, but who are supposed by Condamine to have emigrated from New Granada at the time of the Spanish conquest. They have been repelled by the slaving expeditions from Para, and had fled into the woods. Their language, this Traveller says, is sweet and easy of enunciation, and has no affinity to that of either Peru or Brazil, which prevail, the one above, and the other below the country of the Omaguas along the banks of the river. The appellation Omagua is Peruvian, answering to the Brazilian *Cambevas*, and signifies flat-headed; and in fact, says Condamine, "this nation has adopted the whimsical practice of pressing between two boards the forehead of their new-born infants, in order to give it the singular form which originated the denomination, and, as they say, to make them more perfectly resemble the full moon." The Yaguas of Lieutenant Maw do not appear to have been thus craniologically marked, nor

did he notice this peculiarity in any of the Indian inhabitants of Omaguas or the other *pueblos*. The language of the Yaguas, at all events, merits examination, with a view to ascertain whether it bears any affinity either to the Quichua or Inca language, or to the Muysca of Cundinamarca.

Pebas (or Pevas) was, when M. Condamine descended the river, the last Mission belonging to the Spaniards, the Portuguese laying claim to the territory on both banks as high as the mouth of the Napo, in latitude 3° 24′. The last Peruvian *pueblo*, at present, is Loretto, 104 miles lower down the river. About 39 miles further is Tabitinga (or Tavatinga), the frontier post of Peru and Brazil, but garrisoned only by the Brazilians. Lieutenant Maw reached this place on the 31st of January, after a navigation of sixteen days. The garrison at that time consisted of a serjeant and fifteen soldiers. Few Indians reside there; and Lieutenant Maw was struck with a marked difference in the character and manners of the natives on entering the Brazilian territory.

"There was a gloominess and unwillingness about these people, widely different from the manner of the Peruvian Indians. The Peruvians, although, as one of their *padres* describes them, 'almost as uncivilized as their forefathers,' were a cheerful sort of savages; and when they became acquainted with us, finding we did not attempt to abuse them, if we went into the woods to shoot, they were delighted to go too; if to look for seeds, to fish, or to do any thing else, they were always ready. The Laguna Indians were fond of singing, although they knew less about it than even myself. Towards sunset, I used occasionally to sing them the Canadian boat-song, when they would give way, keeping time with their paddles; and Mr. Hinde

and his canoe would soon be out of sight, if I did not stop singing, to heave the lead. These people appeared infected with some sullen contagion, that it was not easy to overcome."

During his subsequent stay at the villa of Egas, on the river Teffe, Lieutenant Maw received information respecting the atrocious system of slave-hunting, still practised in these parts of the Brazilian territory, which sufficiently accounts for the barbarous, unsocial character of the unhappy natives.*

We have now reached the frontier of what was once Spanish America, and what at present, for want of a specific designation, we must call Peru; although that name can with little propriety be extended to any part of the vast basin of the Amazons. The civilization of which the table-lands of the Andes were the seat,—the language and empire of the Incas of Cuzco or of the Zaques of Cundinamarca,—never descended the rivers thus far eastward, or penetrated the vast interior wilderness which extends from the feet of the second Cordillera to the Atlantic. It is the remark of Baron Humboldt, that "European civilization, like all foreign and imported civilization, ascends the rivers, which native civilization descends; as is proved by the history of the people of Indus, the Ganges, the Euphrates, and perhaps the Nile." † The eastern coast of America, like the African continent, presents no such inlet to the civilizing commerce and science of Europe; and the jealous policy of the Bra-

* See Maw, pp. 266—272; 427—438. See also MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 290. Tabatinga is reckoned by the boatmen 484 leagues from Para, which Lieutenant Maw reached on the 19th of April, and there embarked for England. Dr. Von Spix had previously reached the Brazilian frontier by ascending the river.

† Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 361.

zilian Government has hitherto shut up those immense rivers which seem destined by Providence to be the future channels of inter-communication. The mighty labyrinth of waters, however, which presents such extraordinary facilities for interior navigation, cannot have been made in vain; and the time is not, perhaps, very remote, when steam-boats shall ply, not only between the Rio Negro and Para, but along the central waters of the Amazons, and when the fast decaying missions of the Jesuits shall be replaced by thriving settlements of industrious traders.

The remainder of this volume must be devoted to a very brief geographical sketch of Chile, styled by some travellers, the Italy of America, while by other writers it has been represented, in disparaging terms, as "the most remote, the poorest, the weakest, and the least populous" of the transatlantic dominions that once belonged to the Spanish Crown.

END OF PERU.

CHILE.

CHILE.

[A country of South America, extending from latitude 24° to 45° S.; bounded, on the N., by the Desert of the Alacama; on the E. by the Cordillera; on the S. by the Deserts of Terra-Magellanica; and on the W. by the Pacific Ocean.]

CHILE, like Peru, appears to derive its appellation from a small river or point of that name,* which was applied by the Spaniards to the whole country. The region which it now designates, extends along the western shores of the South American continent from the 24th to the 44th parallel, in the form of a parallelogram, its length being nine times greater than its breadth. On the north, it is separated from Peru by the almost impassable desert of Atacama; on the west, its boundary is the Cordillera; on the south, it terminates at the Gulf of Guayteca and the archipelago of Chiloe. It is not formed, Mr. Miers says, as has been supposed, by a series of terraces or table-lands rising from the sea to the foot of the Cordillera; but is rather a broad expansion of the chain of the Andes, which spreads forth its ramifications from the central longitudinal ridge, these branches diminishing continually, though irregularly, till they reach the ocean. Their height is seldom less than 1000 feet, generally 2000 feet above the valleys which intersect them.

* In Alcedo's Dictionary, Chile is given as the name of a point of the coast of the province of Arequipa. The river Chile flows through the capital of that province.

Some of these valleys (for instance, that of Aconcagua) present a broad expanse of surface; but, in general, there is but little level country between the smaller branches of these chains. The more valuable portions of country are formed by the beds of rivers, now comparatively small, but which have evidently been the channels of more conssderable streams. Being considerably inclined, the valleys admit of irrigation wherever water can be procured. The hilly parts, being dried and parched during the greater part of the year, cannot be cultivated. It is indeed probable, Mr. Miers says, that not a fiftieth part of the northern half of Chile can ever be brought under cultivation; but, southward of the river Maule, the proportion of arable land is greater.

Under the dominion of Spain, the captain-generalship of Chile extended southward to Cape Horn; but no settlements were actually formed beyond the 44th parallel; * and the territory actually in possession of the Spaniards, was bounded by the Bio-bio in latitude 37°. To the south of that river, the country is inhabited by the Araucanoes, who alone, of all the Indian nations, have been able to resist alike the arms and the blandishments of Europeans; and it has been contended, with some reason, that it should bear in geography a different name.† Chile Proper, lying between latitude 26° and 37° S., and the meridians of 69° and 71° 30′ W., contains a territorial surface of

* Fort Maullin, the most southern possession of the Spaniards, at the entrance of the Gulf of Chiloe, is in latitude 41° 43′ S.

† "It is not too much to assert," remarks Mr. Caldcleugh; "that this single nation has cost the Spaniards more blood and treasure than all the others which have fallen under their yoke on the continent."

only about 23,000 square leagues; from which calculation large deductions must be made, to allow for the mountainous and rugged nature of the country.

It appears that, prior to the discovery and invasion of Peru by the Spaniards, the Incas had extended their conquests into Chile, (by pursuing a track to the east of the Cordillera, and then crossing the mountains,) as far as the river Maule. Northern Chile had thus become an integral portion of the Peruvian empire. Nor does the maritime country differ widely from the coast of Peru. Lieutenant Maw, who coasted northwards from Valparaiso to Truxillo, describes the shores of the Pacific throughout that extent as presenting the same general aspect. Commencing with Valparaiso or "the Vale of Paradise," he visited Coquimbo, Arica, and Lima. "The immediate features of Valparaiso are," he says, "a low, sandy level, called the *Almendral* (Almond Grove), abrupt rocks, and hills that are not cultivated, and that would, in England, be termed sterile. There are, indeed, occasionally, peach-orchards, the blossoms of which are in themselves beautiful; there is also some wood in the distance; and the view is crowned by the snow-topped cordilleras. The mountainous scenery is magnificent; but I do not think that the combined effect of the features of Valparaiso, is such as would accord with European ideas of the Vale of Paradise. Coquimbo is also in itself pleasing, but, after crossing the vale to the levels described by Captain Hall, (which in a direct line may be about a league and a half,) and proceeding thence towards the hills, the most favourable account that can be given of the country, is by comparing it to the description of such

scenery in Mr. Moore's song of "Fly to the Desert.' " *

Southern Chile, however, exhibits a very different appearance; and Captain Basil Hall thus describes the gradual change which was observable in the aspect of the coast, in the cruize between Araucania and Peru. " Within the space of one month, we had now witnessed all the intermediate degrees of fertility and desolation. At Concepcion, the eye was delighted with the richest and most luxuriant foliage. At Valparaiso, the hills were poorly clad with a stunted brushwood and a faint attempt at grass, the ground looking starved and naked. At Coquimbo, the brushwood was gone, with nothing in its place but a vile sort of prickly pear bush and a scanty sprinkling of gray, and sometimes purple, wiry grass. At Guasco, there was not a trace of vegetation left, and the hills and plains were covered with bare sand; excepting where the stream of water caused by the melting of the snow among the Andes, gave animation to the channel which leads it into the sea." †

The great extent of sea-coast is the chief natural advantage of the country. " The riches of the whole line of the Andes are with ease carried down to the coast, where a number of excellent harbours are ready to shelter vessels for their reception. The trade wind constantly blows down the coast to the Equator, and, for one half of the voyage at least, renders the passage certain. Coquimbo, which abounds in copper of the best quality, has an excellent port, greatly superior to Valparaiso, which is open to the north, and much ex-

* Maw, p. 420. See Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 2—11.

† Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 12. The respective latitudes of these places is 37°, 33°, 30°, and 28° 30′ S."

posed to the gales from the N.W., which are common in winter. * The rivers are of little importance. The shortness of their course and the rapidity of the torrents, during the season when the snow melts in the Cordillera, and, at the other period, the shallowness of the water, prevents their being of any utility to commerce." † "From the Maypo to Atacama, a distance of 1000 geographical miles," says M. Schmidtmeyer, "all the rivers and streams which flow westerly from those huge masses (the Andes), would not form so considerable a body of water as that with which the Rhone enters the lake of Geneva, or as that of the Thames at Staines." ‡

"The climate of Chile is unquestionably," Mr. Miers says, "one of the finest and healthiest in the world. The temperature near the coast, is even finer than that of the interior, being less subject to variations from heat to cold." Yet, in the months of January and February, the thermometer, in the interior, frequently rises to 90° and 95° Fahr. in the shade; and so insufferable is the heat in the day-time, that no individual is to be met with in the streets,—"nothing," say the natives, "except Englishmen and dogs." The temperature of the coast in summer, frequently rises to 85° during the day, and from 70° to 75° during the night. The months of August, September, October, and November are, however, of a most agreeable temperature, though with frequent haze and fog. "The climate of Santiago," says Capt. Head, "is similar to that of all the parts of Chile which

* "From Nov. to March, Valparaiso is a safe and pleasant anchorage; but, during winter, especially in June and July, is subject to occasional hard storms, blowing from the N., in which direction it is open to the sea."—Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 7

† Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 344. ‡ Schmidtmeyer, p. 26.

I visited. The day, in summer, is burning hot; the nights delightfully cool. During the day, the sun, reflected from the mountains on every side, and which of course obstruct the breeze, has a greater heat than is natural to the latitude. At night, the cold air rolls down the snowy sides of the Andes, and fills the Chilian valleys with a cool atmosphere, which is unknown to the great plains on the other side of the Cordillera. The effect of this stream of cold air is very agreeable, and people whose occupations screen them from the sun in the day, enjoy their evening's ramble; and, as the sky is very clear, the climate of Chile is often described as being extremely healthy. Yet, certainly the people of Chile in general, and of Santiago in particular, have not a healthy appearance. The English there, also, look very pale and exhausted." *

Whatever advantages Chile may enjoy in the excellence and acknowledged salubrity of its climate, and the productiveness of so much of its soil as can be irrigated, these are more than counterbalanced by the earthquakes to which the whole country is continually subject, and which not unfrequently produce the most frightful catastrophes.

Throughout Chile, there are but six or seven places, besides the capital, which can claim the name of

* Head, pp. 201, 2. One circumstance, which may have obtained for Chile the reputation of salubrity, is, that no venomous reptile is to be found throughout the country; in which respect, it resembles the land that is said to inherit the blessing of St. Patrick. Its healthiness would, however, appear to be but comparative. "During my short stay at Chile," says Lieut. Brand, "I found the climate very oppressive; there is a peculiar dryness in the atmosphere, which prevents a free respiration, rendering the skin parched and dry, which occasions restless nights, loss of appetite, and depression of spirits."—Brand, p. 211. This Traveller draws a fearful picture of the fatal effects of free living or habits of inebriation in this climate.

towns; and the total population, according to Humboldt, is in the proportion of only 70 persons to a square marine league. The capital demands a brief description.

SANTIAGO.

SANTIAGO DE CHILE (originally called New Estramadura) was founded in the year 1541, by the famous Pedro de Valdivia. It is situated in an extensive plain,* watered by the rivers Maypo and Maypocho, in lat. 33° 16′ S., long. 69° 48′ W.; and is distant from Valparaiso, 90 miles; 72 from Ramagua; 480 from Concepcion, and 450 from Coquimbo. "This city," says Mr. Miers, "is, upon the whole, one of the finest cities in South America, in point of structure, convenience, and healthiness, but not so with regard to its geographical situation: it is certainly inferior to Lima and Buenos Ayres in this respect, as well as in the elegance of its public and private buildings; but it surpasses them in cleanliness and regularity, and possesses, at first sight, a more imposing appearance than it is found to deserve on a closer examination. Like other Spanish towns, the city is divided into *quadras* (squares).

"The Plaza, or great square, stands nearly in the middle of the city; it occupies the space of a whole quadra. The buildings on the N.W. side are the directorial mansion, the palace of Government, the prison, and chamber of justice. On the south-west side stand the cathedral and the old palace of the bishop, now occupied by the Estado Mayor; on the south-east side are a number of little shops, under a heavy-looking piazza, while the story above is divided into private dwellings and gambling houses: the north-

* The plain on which the city is built, is 2951 feet above the level of the Pacific.—Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 321.

eastern side is wholly occupied by private residences, among which is the English hotel.

" The Palace is a handsome, capacious building of two stories, arranged round a large quadrangle ; the lower range contains the armoury, treasury, and some other public offices ; the upper story contains the great hall of audience, the offices of the ministers of state, war, and finance, and the tribunal of accounts. The Directorial residence is on the ground floor : it consists of a handsome suite of rooms, well furnished. The presidio is a building of two stories, the lower being occupied as a prison ; the upper contains the offices and halls of the court of justice, and of the municipal corporation, or cabildo. These edifices are built in the ordinary bad style of Moorish architecture. The palace is by far the best specimen of architecture, and is the most imposing. All these buildings are of brick, plastered and whitewashed, the pedestals of the pilasters alone being of red porphyry.

" The Cathedral is the only stone building in the city. Its front was never half finished, but, judging from the wing that is completed, the design must have been of the better order of Moorish architecture; it is ornamental, but heavy. It is built of a kind of limestone quarried from the hill of San Domingo, in the Chimba suburb : notwithstanding the genial climate, the stone is fast shivering to decay, though it is quite a new structure. The bishop's palace is a heavy, decayed building ; and the houses before alluded to, with the piazzas, are so dilapidated from age, that apprehensions are entertained that they will fall or be overthrown by the first earthquake that happens. In the centre of the square is an ornamental fountain of brass, furnished with water by a subterraneous aqueduct immediately from the river. The town is chiefly

supplied with water carried hence for sale, in barrels of ten gallons, two of which are a mule's load: it is sold at a medio, or three-pence the barrel.

"The Consulado is a spacious building: it stands in front of the Jesuits' church, and is built of brick, plastered and whitewashed. Here, the Consulado, or commercial tribunal, meets, and the senate and the national congress also hold their sittings. On one side of a small space in front of the Consulado, is the theatre, which is externally a miserable building: on the other side is the custom-house, a large and very capacious building, the lower story being occupied as custom-house warehouses, the upper story by the custom-house and other public offices. The Mint is the largest building in the city; it occupies a whole quadra, and is situated in the Canada, its front facing a shabby street. It consists of three quadrangular courts, round which the offices and salas are arranged. The façade in front consists of a series of heavy pilasters, surrounded with a rude cornice, having above it a long, ponderous balustrade of bad workmanship; in the centre is a large arched portico, or entrance gate, with massive pillars close to the wall on each side, supporting nothing; the whole is of plain brick, and presents a very paltry appearance. In the centre of each side of the front quadrangle, whence the principal entrance doors and passages lead to the other parts of the building, are two lofty massive pillars, projecting some distance from the doorways, and supported upon tall thin pediments; they have nothing above them but a piece of cornice, of no greater width than their diameters, which cornices form a projecting extension of the architrave of the doorway. It is a very ugly and heavy structure, yet, the Chilenos point out the Mint as the great ornament and boast of

their city, fancying there does not exist in the world any building equal to it. A foreigner who visits South America, if he wishes to keep on good terms with the natives, must forget all he has left behind him in Europe, and bring his taste to a level with that of the Creoles. Compared, therefore, with the present skill of the Chilenos, the Mint is a master-piece of bricklayer's work among a people accustomed to build with scarcely any other materials than irregularly shaped sun-dried bricks, cemented together with mud. The Mint, as well as the other public buildings, were constructed by bricklayers sent out from Spain for the express purpose. The brick-work of the house is good, but the design and arrangement are as bad as can be well conceived.

"The town and suburbs are divided into five parishes. The canadilla belonging to Saint Isidore, one division of the city and chuchunco forming the parish of St. Ann; another portion of the city belongs to St. Paul; the western chimba forms that of Estampa; the eastern chimba, St. Francis. All the parish churches are mean structures, but those of the convents present some of the best buildings in the city: that of San Domingo, in the street of that name; that of the Jesuits, which is remarkable for its curiously formed painted exterior: its tower is constructed altogether of timber, the better to resist the shocks of earthquakes, which have frequently overturned the steeples of the churches.*

"Nothing can be more irregular, yet picturesque," says Mr. Caldcleugh, "than the appearance of Santiago, when approached from the Mendoza road. Overlooked by the Great Cordillera, it rises a mass of vegetation in the centre of the barren plain. The

* The cathedral is said to have been planned and begun by two Englishmen. The Mint is the work of a Roman architect.

dark foliage of the olive-tree and the fig, with the lighter tints of the mimosas and algarobas, is so blended with steeples and houses, that the effect is novel and imposing. Dissimilar to Paris and other large cities, where each house has its separate garden, but in a manner hidden by the lofty tenements which surround it, here, from the little elevation, the town, seen in the distance, appeared overshadowed with foliage." * To be seen to advantage, the Traveller should have crossed the Andes; and to the striking effects of the transition may doubtless be ascribed the highly-coloured descriptions which have been given of Chile as the Italy of America.

The Vale of the Maypo is, however, confessedly a favoured and delightful spot. Bounded on both sides by the barren mountains of the Cordillera, although but partially cultivated, its natural orchards and rich vegetation give it the aspect of luxuriant fertility. Some of the adjacent *quintas* and farms present situations of romantic beauty. The two favourite excursions are to the Lake of Aculeo, and the Hot Baths of Colina. The latter, situated eleven leagues N. of the Capital, is a fashionable watering-place, and the scenery is characterized by Mr. Caldcleugh as most magnificent. The former is nearly 20 miles S. of Santiago. The road leads through the narrow ravine called Angostura de Painé, the bed of the little river of that name. The lake is described by Mrs. Graham as resembling, in its picturesque features, the Lago Maggiore, and "even the very climate seemed that of Northern Italy." †

As a contrast to these scenes of beauty, we ought now to transport our readers to the snowy recesses and volcanic peaks of the mighty Andes.

* Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 319. † Graham's Chile, p. 247.

With regard to the perils and difficulties attending the passage of the Cordillera, the representations of travellers differ widely; and it is evident, that much of the comparative difficulty of the route depends upon the season and upon the precise track that is taken by the guides. Mr. Miers assures us, that the ascent of the Cumbre itself, the highest point in the route from Mendoza,* though long and tedious, is in general free from all danger. "All the accounts of dangerous ascents and of precipices, which almost every traveller has given of this part of the journey, are," he broadly affirms, "untrue, there being neither precipice nor danger!" He doubts too, whether the *puna* is ever violently felt, except by pedestrians, and as the consequence of violent exertion. "I have walked both up and down the Cumbre," he says, "without being affected. Neither did my wife nor my child, when an infant scarcely six months old, with the thermometer standing at 35°, and the barometer at 19⅛ inches, experience the least difficulty in breathing." Mr. Schmidtmeyer found the Cumbre so very slippery from frozen snow, that, had he attempted to walk or even to stand, he must have rolled down like a snowball the distance of *a mile;* and great was his surprise at finding the mules proceed securely. But this dangerous road, which continued for about half a mile, when without snow, he says, "is very easy." †

Mr. Caldcleugh, who crossed the Cordillera in June, gives a frightful account of the passage. Two of the peons were knocked up with *puna:* and several

* During six months in the year, the only pass by which the mountains can be crossed in safety, is that of Uspallata, in front of Mendoza.

† Schmidtmeyer's Travels, p. 223.

of them had formidable falls, saving themselves only by adroitly forcing their staffs into the snow.* Equally terrific is the description given by Lieutenant Brand, of sliding down the almost perpendicular declivity of the Cuesta de Concual, — the practice adopted by the peons in winter time, but which can be accomplished at no other period. In summer, the torrents formed by the melted snow become a new source of danger; and the much-dreaded *Ladera de las Vacas*, is then for some time impassable.

This high road from Buenos Ayres to Chile, is turnpike, however, compared with some of the more private tracks; and Capt. Head's account of his journey to the Silver Mine of San Pedro Nolasco, about 75 miles S.W. of Santiago, in the heart of the Andes, may serve instead of a lengthened description of scenes to which no pen can do justice.† The route lay over the vale of the Maypo, and the Travellers halted for the night at a small establishment for reducing the ores formerly raised from this mine, near the entrance of the defile. The next morning, starting before sun-rise, they continued to follow for four or five hours the course of the river, till at length the valley grew narrower, and the trees and shrubs became smaller and more stunted, while on every side rose the Andes covered with snow.

"Our path, which had been long neglected, was in many places very dangerous, being infinitely more so than any of the passes we had crossed in coming from Mendoza over the Cordillera. The laderas

* See Caldcleugh, vol. ii. pp. 105—114.

† Captain Head describes this as the worst pass in the Chilian Cordillera. See his description, Head's Rough Notes, pp. 134—184. Brand's Voyage to Peru, pp. 96—161. Haigh's Chile, pp. 104—111.

were literally only a few inches wide, and were covered with stones, which were so loose that every instant they rolled from under the mules' feet, and fell with an accelerating violence into the torrent. As I rode almost the whole of the day by myself, I would willingly have got off; but the mules will never lead, and besides this, when once a person is on the ladera, on the back of his mule, it is impossible to dismount, for there is no room to get off, and the attempt to do so might throw the mule off his balance, and precipitate him into the torrent, which was at an extraordinary depth beneath. In some few places, the path was actually washed away, and the mule had only to hurry over the inclined surface the best way he could; but the manner in which these patient animals preserve their footing, is quite extraordinary, and to know their value, one must see them in the Cordillera. After passing two or three very violent torrents, which rushed from the mountains above into the river beneath us, we came to one which looked worse than those which we had with great difficulty crossed; however, we had no alternative but to cross it, or return to Santiago. We attempted to drive the loose mules, but one had scarcely put his feet into it, when he was carried away, and in less than twenty yards, the box which he had on his back, was dashed to pieces, and its contents were hurried down the surface of the stream. In order to get across, we put a lasso round our bodies, and then rode through; but the holes were so deep, that the water occasionally came over the neck of the mule, and we passed with great difficulty. These poor creatures are dreadfully afraid of crossing such torrents; it is only constant spurring that obliges them to attempt it; and sometimes, in the middle of the stream, they will tremble and refuse to advance,

for several seconds. When the water is very deep, the arrieros always tie the lasso round their bodies; but I never could feel it was any security, because, if the torrent will dash a wooden box to pieces, a man's skull would surely have a very bad chance. I was, therefore, always very glad when I found myself across them; and, as our lives were insured in London for a large sum of money, I used often to think, that if the insurers could have looked down upon us, the sight of the laderas and of these torrents would have given a quickness to their pulse, a flush to their cheek, and a singing in their ears, very unlike the symptoms of placid calculation.

"Shortly after passing this torrent, we turned towards the south, and began to climb the mountain of San Pedro Nolasco, which I can only describe by saying, that it is the steepest ascent which we ever made in all our expeditions among the Andes. For five hours, we were continually holding on by the ears or neck of our mule; and the path was in some places so steep, that for a considerable time it was quite impossible to stop. We soon passed the limits of vegetation. The path went in ziz-zags, although it was scarcely perceptible, and if the mules above us had fallen, they would certainly have rolled down upon us, and carried us with them.

"In mounting, we constantly inquired of the arriero, if the point above our heads was the summit, but as soon as we attained it, we found that we had still higher to go. On both sides of us, we now came to groupes of little wooden crosses, which were the spots where people formerly employed in the mine, had been overtaken by a storm, and had perished. However, we continued our course; and at last, gaining the summit, we found ourselves close to the silver

lode of San Pedro Nolasco, which is situated on one of the loftiest pinnacles of the Andes. A small solitary hut was before us, and we were accosted by two or three wretched-looking miners, whose pale countenances and exhausted frames seemed to assimilate with the scene around them. The view from the eminence on which we stood was magnificent, it was sublime; but it was, at the same time, so terrific, that one could hardly help shuddering.

"Although it was midsummer, the snow where we stood was, according to the statement made to me by the agent of the mine, from twenty to a hundred and twenty feet deep, but blown by the wind into the most irregular forms, while in some places the black rock was visible. Beneath was the river and valley of Maypo, fed by a number of tributary streams, which we could see descending like small silver threads down the different ravines. We appeared to have a bird's-eye view of the great chain of the Andes, and we looked down upon a series of pinnacles of indescribable shapes and forms, all covered with an eternal snow. The whole scene around us in every direction was devoid of vegetation, and was a picture of desolation, on a scale of magnificence which made it peculiarly awful; and the knowledge that this vast mass of snow, so cheerless in appearance, was created for the use, and comfort, and happiness, and even luxury of man; that it was the inexhaustible reservoir from which the plains were supplied with water,—made us feel that there is no spot in creation which man should term barren, though there are many which Nature never intended for his residence. A large cloud of smoke was issuing from one of the pinnacles, which is the great volcano of San Francisco; and the silver

lode which was before us, seemed to run into the centre of the crater.

"As it was in the middle of the summer, I could not help reflecting, what a dreadful abode this must be in winter!" *

This mine, for seven months in the year, is totally inaccessible; yet, the miners used to be kept there throughout the year! That system of oppression, however, is for ever broken up. The mode in which these mineral treasures were first obtained, forms, as Captain Head justly remarks, "one of the most guilty pages in the moral history of man;" and it is a mystery, how they were ever discovered in spots thus dreary and inaccessible. The Spaniards, it must be recollected, were not the first to discover these treasures; nor did they originate the system of compulsory labour, by means of which these mines were worked long before Pizarro or Almagro set foot on the eastern coast. But, with the emancipation of the people, the profitable cultivation of these mines must, to a great extent, cease; "for the evident reason, that poor mines, as well as poor land, may be made productive by a system of cruelty and tyranny, when, under a free government, they must be inactive and barren."

This lesson in political economy is a salutary one; but it has cost us something to acquire the knowledge, that the boasted wealth of Peru and Chile is an illusion. Mr. Miers scarcely exceeds the truth in remarking, that this *El Dorado* of our eager speculators has proved to be, "a country barren and unproductive beyond all belief; incapable of traffic; presenting an inhospitable climate; bare of population; and its

* Head, pp. 225—230.

few inhabitants effeminate, indolent, and wanting in enterprise; its shores forbidding; and its boasted mines placed out of the reach of all beings excepting Indians, who, to be made to work them, must be treated as beings inferior to dogs. By dissolving the charm," he adds, "which, under the grossest deception, has smothered the earliest embryo development of the aboriginal people, the Revolution, which has called forth the energies of the native Creoles, must gradually bring into action, and slowly expand into vigour, the natural resources of the soil."

How strange is the fatality by which the precious metals seem to entail poverty and degradation upon the countries in which they abound,—whether amid the snows of the barren Andes, or beneath the torrid skies of Senegambia and Guinea,—in Peru or in Bambook, in Mexico or in Ashantee!

THE END.

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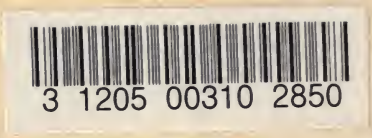
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